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*The Rev.^d A. Macdonald with
the donor's respects.*

NECESSITY
OF
POPULAR EDUCATION,
AS
A NATIONAL OBJECT.

NECESSITY
OF
POPULAR EDUCATION,
AS
A NATIONAL OBJECT;
WITH
HINTS ON THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS, AND
OBSERVATIONS ON HOMICIDAL INSANITY.

BY JAMES SIMPSON,

ADVOCATE.

..... Serene Philosophy !.....
Effusive source of evidence and truth,
Without thee, what were UNENLIGHTENED man !
Seasons.

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PREFACE.

A deep conviction and solemn feeling of the necessity—the urgency—of a great National measure for enlightening, and morally elevating, the great body of our countrymen, are the author's motives for offering the following pages to the deliberate consideration of the public. Whether they shall think his views juster and more practical than those that may have been before them, in a hundred other works on the “interminable theme of education,” it is not for him to anticipate; but he ventures to hope that they will find the subject placed in a light somewhat different from any with which they are already familiar. He appeals to the Crisis—a great increase of popular power, an immense extension of popular influence, without commensurate directing knowledge, and controlling virtue; and he claims a patient hearing, as the right of the humblest contributor to the difficult subject, to receive, and the duty of every wellwisher of his country and his species, to bestow. In this treatise the reader's attention will be called to larger views of the subject of education, in its principles and prac-

tice, than he may have met with before, and that in relation to ALL classes of the community, for the education of man, adapted to his nature, knows no distinction of ranks; but he will likewise, it is humbly hoped, see the limit defined, to which the education of *every* sane human being ought to be carried, in order to fit him for that place in the social system, and in the creation of God, for which he was called into being. With the diffidence becoming the attempt, and the deference due to his masters in the science of national economy, the author has ventured to propose a PLAN of popular education for public approbation, and legislative adoption; content if it shall move that discussion, by which it cannot fail to be greatly improved. He will be more than enough rewarded, too, if he shall succeed in reviving some share of interest in the neglected subject of the philosophy of Man, and his relations to external things, without which the science of education must remain, as it has hitherto remained, incapable of practical application, and *therefore* a discarded weariness. He repeats that the object presses,—that it is exciting anxious inquiry,—and that it is shortly destined to rouse the attention of the most careless and inobservant dweller in the land.

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POPULAR EDUCATION.

INTRODUCTION.

Education not yet placed on a right basis—Sound views exist, but are not systematised—The present an attempt at their combination—“ Ignorance prevails to a horrible extent ”—The truth that it is connected with suffering practically disbelieved—Appeal to fear—to justice and benevolence—Just notions of the general happiness—Intellectual and moral necessary to physical improvement—Direct enjoyment from intellectual and moral elevation—The higher faculties of man are the gift of God, and intended for cultivation, use, and enjoyment.

It is matter of deep regret to the first men of the age, that Education has not yet been placed upon a practically useful basis. It is felt that it is imperfectly enjoyed even by the educated, utterly withheld from the multitude, and not yet systematised either in principles or plan. In presuming to offer to the public the following treatise, there is one avowal which the author cheerfully and gratefully makes. While failure to systematise education has disappointed much talent and worth which have been engaged on the subject, yet in many a reflec-

tive and eloquent page there are views unfolded which possess the character of essential truth, and offer ready materials to the hand of the architect of a more practically useful structure than the authors themselves erected. It may safely be predicated, that there already exists a large proportion of the materials of a philosophical system of education, not rough in the quarry, but almost marked by their symmetry for their places in the building, and inviting their own combination, as a comparatively easy task to a very inferior workman who will collect them together. Such is the utmost pretension of the following attempt. The reader who is familiar with works on education, will perhaps scarcely discover in these pages a thought which in substance he has not met with before ; but if he shall find known thoughts in combinations different from any in which he may hitherto have recognised them, and better adapted to the great end to which they were directed, the utmost success for which the author dares to look, will have attended his humble labours. A new combination, for a beneficial end, of existing constructions, is an invention entitling to the royal patent. Every one is welcome to claim for himself, or any one else, any such stray idea, if he detects it in the following work ; all the author asks is the use of it.

It is most important for us all to be aware that much intellectual and moral darkness broods upon our land ; that “ IGNORANCE PREVAILS TO A HORRIBLE EXTENT ” * in our country ; that on ignorance must ever attend suf-

* Lord Chancellor Brougham’s Speech at the Wilberforce Meeting at York, October 1833.

fering, physical and moral; and suffering accordingly abounds. In the resolutions of the British and Foreign School Society of March 1831, the confession is more than once emphatically made, that “ENGLAND IS YET UNEDUCATED.” Dr Chalmers says yet more despondingly, “In the grievous defect of our national institutions, and the wretched abandonment of a people left to themselves, and who are permitted to live recklessly and at random as they list, we see enough to account for the profligacy of our crowded cities, and for the sad demoralization of our neglected provinces.”* But connection, in the closest relation of cause and effect, between ignorance and all this profligacy and demoralization, is by no means a practical belief with a large portion of the educated classes themselves; and this is the only assignable reason for the amazing indifference, the incredulity, and even scorn, with which all plans, schemes, and projects, for the enlightenment of the great body of the people, are yet treated.

The Edinburgh Review † has made a pointed appeal against this error to the public FEARS. None are safe, most certainly, in the centre of pestilence, in daily contact with profligacy, demoralization, and crime; but our fears are inferior impulses, and are not adequate to generous purposes; of these purposes, higher motives are the fitting guides, noble faculties the ministers. Our fellow-men shall share our lights, if we have any; not that we may be more safe, but that they may be more happy. The best selfishness is justice, and, higher yet, an unselfish benevolence, overflowing in its own disinte-

* Bridgewater Treatise.

† No. 117.

rested exuberance. The Creator will not bless any lower motive to do good. *His* system is arranged upon the supremacy of justice and benevolence in Creation, and Christianity is mainly addressed to these faculties in man. Till we ourselves have light and truth and love enough to see and feel that our own good flows as a secondary but invariable consequence, from our efforts exerted, primarily and, in their motives, exclusively, for our fellow-men, we shall in vain attempt to improve them,—we must first improve ourselves.

Besides being actuated by a powerful impulse to increase the general happiness, we must arrive at just notions as to the true nature of that happiness. It is an error, springing from limited views of human capabilities, to rest satisfied with the *physical* weal of our fellow-men. The benevolence of Henry IV. of France yearned for the happiness of his people, but his lights were satisfied with wishing that there was “a fowl in the pot of every peasant in his kingdom.” Had he directed his utmost kingly power solely to achieve this physical object, he would have failed. It is by operating on the moral and intellectual man, that the only steady and permanent provision is made for his physical wants. The peasant must be capacitated to provide his own fowl, if he is to enjoy it often. The kind-hearted monarch would have *given* the fowl, if he could, and often repeated the dole; but he would thereby have degraded the whole character of his people, and unfitted them for the attainment of substantial permanent prosperity. The only true channel of physical comfort will be found in cultivated intellectual and moral powers. Besides attaining the self-

denying, upright, benevolently-cooperating, and industrious habits, which live in the very atmosphere of an improved morality, an enlightened intellect looks before and after, observes relations, calculates consequences, and, according to the nature of things, avoids evil, and secures good. But this is not all; it is the humblest office of an elevated moral and intellectual character to improve the physical condition; when it has established bodily comfort, and, what is a new contemplation for the thinking few, reasonable leisure from reasonable toil,—an indispensable element, as shall hereafter appear, of human weal, physical and moral,—it is in itself a positive good, a source of direct enjoyment, far above the richest material possessions. This scarcely requires illustration to the enlightened and the moral. They have only to reflect how small a proportion of their enjoyment is physical or sensual, when compared with that which consists in the refined delights of knowledge, of taste, of feeling, and of sentiment, reaped from books and social converse, from the acts of benevolence, and from the acknowledgments of religious thankfulness and adoration. These give its chief value to easy circumstances, not the mere command of material accommodations; and it is from these that the great bulk of our fellow-men are excluded, by the exhaustion of their time and strength in labour, and by their want of capacity, from deficient education, to convert their leisure, if any they had, to these higher enjoyments. The Creator has done his part. He has given to every man some portion of intellect, some share of moral sentiment, intended not merely to control his animal appetites, for the preservation of his own safety,

but to furnish him with pure and refined delight, which we have only to conceive sufficiently intense, to gain a faint glimpse of Heaven. HE does nothing in vain. Let those who despair of human nature, reflect that, if He has given to man a share of those high endowments which are the only real approach to his own image, then assuredly he has designed them for cultivation, for use, and for high enjoyment. To deny this,—and it is practically denied in our abandonment of seven-eighths of our countrymen to ignorance and all its evils,—is to deny that the intellectual and moral nature of man is the work of God.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE EFFECTS OF IGNORANCE ON THE CONDITION OF THE
MANUAL-LABOUR CLASS OF THE PEOPLE.

Manual Labourers seven-eighths of the population—Twofold division of the People—1st, PHYSICAL condition of manual-labour class—Their ignorance of the conditions of health—Neglect of air, houses, beds, skin, ablution, muscular exercise—Cholera—Ardent Spirits and Sunday drunkenness—Temperance Societies—Transmission of diseases to offspring—Mortality of infants—Faults of servants—Manufacturers.—2d, INTELLECTUAL condition of manual-labour class—Their prejudices, &c.—The dupes of the designing—Absurd flattery addressed to them—Labour market—Striking for wages.—3d, MORAL condition of manual-labour class—Their faculties work as instincts—Malicious destroying and defacing—Cruelty to animals—Other causes of low condition—Effects of the Poor laws and Allowance system—Religious condition—Present provision for education—Reading and writing—Scottish parochial schools—Prevailing prejudices.

THE production and preparation for man's use, of the material necessities, comforts, luxuries, and elegancies of life, occupy the *hands* of nearly seven-eighths of the population of this country. Machinery is only a combination of tools to extend the power of the hand. Still more than seven-eighths of our population live by labour of some kind, either of hand or head; so that there is not perhaps a *fiftieth* part of the whole population of Britain who live entirely independent of labour. This last mentioned limited class, for my present purpose at least, may be ranked with those who work not with the hands; so that we may assume a twofold division of the British

people into the manual-labour class, and the class above manual labour. In considering the condition of the manual-labour class, it must not be lost sight of, that they are endowed in kind, though not generally in degree, with the like capabilities of education with the class above them, with the like faculties for the attainment of knowledge, moral elevation, and genuine religion.

First, The PHYSICAL condition of the whole class of manual labourers, is much worse than it might be rendered, and rendered by themselves, if they were more enlightened than they are. Making allowance for grades in their condition, and individual exceptions, a great majority of that class are left utterly uninstructed in, and live of course in disregard of, the simplest conditions of health. In too many instances* the light and air, which Heaven bestows and man excludes, very imperfectly enter to cheer and purify their dwellings, noisome with animal and vegetable effluvia, and accumulated refuse. In the worst cases, they sleep in beds,—often several persons in one,—which rarely know cleanly change, and have become infectious as the depositories of weeks of insensible perspiration, ascertained to be nearly a pound weight from each adult in twelve hours. The nocturnal consumption of the air of a crowded room, renders it a posi-

* It is important to offer a caveat against being thought to state the case too strongly against this class of my countrymen. We have all seen many clean and comfortable houses belonging to workmen. Very generally, however, we observe a disregard of *ventilation*; and, if we perceive a want of this essential of health in their houses, we are led to suspect the state of their beds. I not only will permit every manual labourer, who conscientiously can, to claim exemption from my description, but should rejoice that the exemptions were numerous.

tive poison to the lungs, the heart, and the blood; and when the workman has to contend with a deleterious trade during the day, what must the effect be, upon his health, of the atmosphere and contact of his repose? Rising from this dormitory, of whose operation on his constitution he is profoundly unconscious, the manual labourer resumes his day garments, in part of which he has probably slept, and “unwashed” returns to his labour. He has never learned the import of the word “unwashed,”—the diseases external and internal of an unheeded skin,—the consequences of obstructing that exquisite organ which exhales waste, and therefore hurtful, matter from the system, aids importantly in the regulation of the animal heat, is an agent of absorption, and the seat of touch and sensation. Nature lavishes water, as she is profuse of pure air for which every vital function pants; but water is refreshing, deterrent, and luxurious, in vain to the son of toil*. Mr Thackrah of Leeds, the able and useful writer upon the diseases incident to trades, says, on the subject of ablution, “There are other trades, in which the surface of the body is affected, though in a less degree, by the peculiar substances applied; but, without entering into further detail, I would urge the necessary effect of almost all the occupations of a manufacturing town, in fouling the skin. When we consider the functions which this organ is known to perform, independently of those which physiology suspects but has

* This, and other conditions of health, are admirably treated of in a work just published by Dr Andrew Combe of Edinburgh, on the “Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health, and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education.” A. & C. Black, Edinburgh.

not ascertained, when we refer to the natural products of the skin, insensible perspiration, sweat, unctuous matter, &c., we wonder how men can endure the compound crust of soot, dust, and secretions, with which they are enveloped. Throughout the *whole* of the labouring classes, and indeed among the majority of the middling and upper, this subject is strangely neglected. Cleanliness is practised in a very imperfect manner, the whole surface is seldom washed; and, in most persons, the body, with the exceptions of the hands and face, is cleaned only by the removal of those impurities which adhere to the linen. Bathing is rarely used in any form."

It is another condition of health that the muscular frame shall be suitably exercised by motion and exertion. Some kinds of manual labour, and these besides often in the open air, exercise generally the muscular frame, and such labourers are the most healthy; while other kinds are carried on in confined and ill-aired rooms, or manufactories which are loaded with flying dust, and deleterious effluvia, and afford no exercise beyond a movement of the fingers, or a turn of the wrist. A few minutes of fresh air between his work-shop and his home, is the workman's portion of that cheapest and best of luxuries; and worn out in mind as well as body, by the monotony of twelve or fourteen hours' employment, he swallows his meal, often drinks ardent spirits, which aggravate greatly the power of every other destroyer of his constitution; and in the same bed, and the same air, he spends the night, as he did the night before, in the unrefreshing sleep of already formed disease. Can we wonder that fevers, cutaneous, and other infectious diseases, originate in the unheeded persons, neglected beds, and unventilated dwellings of many of this

class of the people. When the irruption of the Cholera forced us—I wish I could say from higher impulses than “fear”—to enter the manual labourer’s abode, and explore the state in which he lived, a very general want of cleanliness was discovered, and in many houses a horrible state of filth. Swine-sties were in some instances found in the same room, already squalid with human crowdedness. The disclosure was too humiliating and alarming ever to be forgotten, and it was the first step to the cure of so great an evil, that it should be fully known.

When to all now described is superadded the curse of ardent spirits, the physical degradation of the manual labourer is complete; and as a temporary stimulus to weakened nerves and a vacant mind, this vice is dreadfully prevalent among his class. He has from his childhood been left in profound ignorance of the effects of the practice upon the functions of his body, and in the degradation of his character. In the society in which he lives, on the contrary, he has been accustomed, from his childhood, to connect drinking with manly privilege, conviviality, and pleasure, and to deem it not only safe, but wholesome and beneficial. Sunday is a day of too prevalent intoxication among the manual-labour class; and their employers well know, that Monday and even Tuesday are in consequence what are called slack days in the workshop and manufactory. I have been assured, by benevolent medical practitioners who visit the worst classes of manual labourers, that they find it unsafe, as well as disgusting, to go among them on the days of their orgies, when the scenes of beastly drunkenness

which they witness are altogether indescribable. It will afterwards appear how education may be brought to bear upon this shocking vice, which is, in a greater degree than is generally supposed, a sin of ignorance. Without early moral training and intellectual enlightenment, it is to be feared that those well-meant experiments called Temperance Societies, will do little to reform that part of the class in question who most require it. What is *their* vow to abstain, if you should get it, against their appetite to indulge? The vow binds none whom light and knowledge would not have more securely bound; and it is well known to be a fact, that the example of the vow has no effect on the ignorant and the debased. Vows are rejected by the truly moral: they would as soon think of tying their own hands: they are on principle members of the society of temperance, without such artificial or mechanical aid; they use all things as not abusing them, and need not the compulsion of an oath or an undertaking. It is *knowledge* of the mischiefs of spirits-drinking that has brought all the sincere adherents of the societies within their pale; their only error is their *vow*. None will join them without knowledge, and when knowledge is attained generally, Temperance Societies will cease to be necessary. However, by all means, let all tie their own hands, who think they need that mode of restraint; the motive is inferior, but much direct good will follow the restraint.

The manual labourer whom filth, foul air, muscular and nervous relaxation aggravated by ardent spirits, have combined to predispose to and affect with disease, has had no lesson ever taught him that his weakened

frame, predispositions, and actually formed diseases, will be the wretched inheritance of his children, if he shall become a father. The same ignorance that has induced his own condition, renders him reckless of the misery if not guilt of transmitting it. He himself derived a tainted constitution, perhaps, from his progenitor, and, with his own actual deteriorations superadded, conveys it to his offspring; a few such generations must extinguish the stock—the very source of such a population. If infants are born in poisonous air, nursed in infectious beds, swathed in scanty and unchanged clothing, denied those ablutions so notoriously indispensable to the skin, when most vasculent and more active and important in the infant economy than all the viscera put together,—the last tasked beyond their power by the reflux circulation which an uncontracted and unobstructed skin would have disposed of,—is there just cause of wonder that they are swept away in thousands by convulsions, croups, and bowel-complaints, or that the seeds are sown in infancy of the numerous diseases of after life? The London bills of mortality prove that nearly a fourth of the infants baptised, die within the first two years from their birth. This mortality is not the design of the Creator: it is not true of the inferior animals, and therefore must have removeable causes; which causes will assuredly be found in gross ignorance. The animals are guided aright by their instincts; man ought to be directed as truly by his observing and reflecting powers, which were given him for that end; but then the condition of cultivation and improvement was annexed to the gift, and that command of the All-wise is forgotten or disobeyed.

I have often thought the general complaint of annoyance from the faults of domestic servants scarcely reasonable, when we consider the class from which we receive them. With all the habits of negligence, disorderliness, and insensibility to filth and foul air, in which they have, in many cases, been born, nursed, and bred, they enter our houses, and most readily undertake to keep them in proper order, to anticipate the numberless minutiae of our personal accommodations, and at once supply, by intuition or sympathy, our wants, nay our whims. We soon find (though here, too, there are rare exceptions), that their notions and ours on all these points differ widely. Great disarray and want of cleanliness to us, is order, neatness, and sweetness to them; ventilating of rooms, and airing of beds, are to them mere troublesome fancies; dusting is an unnecessary disturbance of what, by nature, falls so noiselessly and lies so impartially; they remove, of course, only what is pointed out to them, and sit down contentedly in the midst of what remains. In nothing should we reap more every-day satisfaction from judicious education, than in the improvement of our domestic servants.

I cannot leave the deplorable picture, and it is not overcharged, of the physical condition of a large portion of the manual-labour class, without a brief extract, which too truly confirms the worst I have said, from a work deservedly exciting much attention at present, Wade's "History of the Middle and Working Classes." After describing, on the authority of Dr Kay,* the long pro-

* "The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working-Classes employed in the Cotton-Manufactories in Manchester. By James Philip Kay, M. D."

tracted labour and injudicious food of the manufacturer, Mr Wade says, " It is not from actual distress many work-people use this unsatisfactory and noxious diet, but from bad habits and management. A large proportion of them have wages sufficient to supply them with solid and wholesome food, were they well laid out, instead of being squandered in vain luxuries or enervating excess. To preserve them in health, their diet should consist of animal food, wheaten bread, and malt liquor, and not much liquor of other kinds. From the long hours of labour and close atmosphere in which they are confined, the operatives feel the necessity of some artificial stimulus. Coffee, tea, and beer of good quality, are most suitable for this purpose. Instead of relying on these in moderate quantities, what do the manufacturing labourers do? Many of those receiving the highest wages, are in the habit of spending a portion of their leisure after working-hours, especially on a Saturday evening, and during the Sunday, in besotting themselves with ale and beer; and still oftener with the more efficient stimulus of gin. It is customary for them in many of the towns, to stop at the gin-shops and take a dram as they go to their work in the morning, and another as they return at night; and where, as is frequently the case, the houses of the work-people lie in a cluster round the factory, it is not uncommon for a wholesale vender of spirits to leave two gallons (the smallest quantity which can be sold without a license) at one of the houses, which is distributed in small quantities to the others, and payment is made to the merchant, through the original receiver. The quantity of gin drunk in this way is enormous; and

children and even girls are initiated in this fatal practice at a very tender age. Ardent spirits are not the only stimulus in which this class of people indulge. Many of them take large quantities of *opium* in one form or another ; sometimes in pills, sometimes as laudanum, sometimes in what they call an anodyne draught, which is a narcotic of the same kind. They find this a cheaper stimulus than gin, and many of them prefer it.” Again, Mr Wade observes, “ The competition of the Irish has acted most unfavourably on the state of the poorer classes. They have not only lowered wages, but the standard of living. In Manchester the habitations of the Irish are described as most destitute. They can scarcely be said to be furnished. They contain one or two chairs, a mean table, the most scanty culinary apparatus, and one or two beds, loathsome with filth. A whole family is often accommodated on a single bed, and sometimes a heap of filthy straw, and a covering of old sacking, hide them in one undistinguished heap, debased by vice, penury, and want of economy. Frequently two or more families are crowded into a small house containing only two rooms, one in which they sleep, in the other eat ; and often more than one family live in a damp cellar, containing one room, in whose pestilential atmosphere from twelve to sixteen persons are crowded.* To these fertile sources of disease are sometimes added the keeping of pigs and other animals, with other nuisances of the most revolting character.”

* A medical friend told me that he attended a poor man in a fever, in a cellar in Edinburgh, from the floor of which it was often necessary to pump out the water.

“ Besides dissolute habits, bad diet, and local uncleanness,” continues Mr Wade, “ another source of unhealthiness in the manufacturing districts, is the *severe and unremitting labour of work-people*. The employment of spinners and stretchers is among the most laborious that exist, and is exceeded by that of mowing (grass) alone, and few mowers think of continuing their labour for twelve hours without intermission. Add to this that these men never rest for an instant during their hours of working, except when their *mules* are doffing, in which process they also assist; and it must be obvious to every one, that it is next to impossible for any human being, however hardy and robust, to sustain this exertion for any length of time, without permanently injuring his constitution. A collier never works above eight, and a farm-labourer seldom above ten hours a-day: and it is therefore wholly out of all just proportion, that a spinner should labour for twelve hours regularly, and frequently for more. The labour of the other classes of hands, as *carders, rovers, piecers, and weavers*, consists, not so much in their actual manual exertion, which is very moderate, as in the constant attention which they are required to keep up, and the intolerable fatigue of long standing, without being permitted to lean or sit down.”

Although the moral condition of the manual-labour class is anticipated at this stage of our inquiry, when treating of the physical, I shall finish Mr Wade’s statement. “ It is almost unnecessary to remark on the low state of MORALS in factories. One who has the best opportunities of observing, remarks, ‘ that the licentiousness that prevails among the dense population of ma-

manufacturing towns, is carried to a degree which is appalling to contemplate, which baffles all statistical inquiries, and which can be learned only from the testimony of observers. And in addition to overt acts of vice, there is a coarseness and grossness of feeling, and a habitual indecency, which we would fain hope and believe are not the prevailing characteristics of our country.”* “The illicit intercourse and general licentiousness of the sexes, result from the circumstances in which they are placed. They are exempt from the restraints of other classes; they have few or no pleasures beyond those arising from sensual indulgence; it involves no loss of character, for their companions are as reckless as themselves; it brings no risk of losing their employment, for their employers do not take cognizance of these matters.”

Mr Thackrah directs an enlightened attention to the causes of unwholesomeness in manufactories, and trades in general, but almost all his suggestions imply the co-operating enlightenment of the work-people themselves.†

I anticipate the answer to all that has been said to me on the subject of the physical negligences of the manual-labour class, namely, that they have no leisure to be

* Inquiry into the State of the Manufacturing Population, p. 25. Ridgeway, 1831.

† I have just heard of a very promising contrivance for at one and the same time carrying off the dust from the atmosphere of cotton and flax-mills, and affording them ventilation. A series of circular perforations are made in the floors, connected with the open air by tubes. Wheels are fitted into the holes, flush with the floor, and are moved rapidly round by the machinery. The dust is sucked out by these wheels as through so many whirlpools, and a current of used air is kept constantly following the dust, while fresh is supplied by other apertures.

cleanly in their persons, beds, and dwellings. From rest barely sufficient, they are summoned to renew their toil, and, after the close of day, they have neither time nor inclination for any thing but food and repose. I admit the monstrous evils, physical and moral, of excessive or over-prolonged labour, and in the sequel will beg leave to submit some remarks on the practicability of a reasonable abridgment of the toil of the manual labourer, *for the purpose of education and improvement*, and that by wiser and more efficient means than combinations to obtain it by force, to be spent, as unquestionably it *now* would be, in idleness and sensuality; but I deny that cleanliness and ventilation are incompatible with even the present degree of labour. There is time found for the ale-bench and the gin-shop. If cleanliness had been constituted *a want*, with an appetite as strong, there would have been no neglect of it in the most overworked labourer. Personal ablution is the operation of a few minutes, ventilation is the opening of a window and a door, airing a bed is turning it down for an hour, instead of making it up warm; while clean body and bed clothes might be made a benefit of cheap and easy attainment, by the establishment, in every town, of public washing-stations for boiling and line-drying.* The real obstacle is the utter indifference

* A plan for this purpose was submitted to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh two years ago. But this is far outdone by a washing and drying apparatus, both by the agency of steam, for which Mr Lemuel Wright, 91. London Road, London, has a patent. Hot water charged with soap is several times forced by steam through the clothes packed in a copper vessel;—this is followed by hot water pure;—and this by simple steam, which rapidly dries the clothes. Half an hour completes a washing, and that without manual labour, or the attendance of the owner.

to, and disinclination to the trouble of, cleanliness, which arises from ignorance of its benefits, and of the evils of its neglect. I shall afterwards shew how simply this most useful practical knowledge may be early and habitually impressed on the minds of the manual-labour class, to the immense improvement of their physical condition.

Secondly, The INTELLECTUAL condition of the working-classes we can scarcely expect, after what has been said of their physical, to find much more advanced ; it is in truth very low, and this I fear with fewer exceptions of importance. Who has not felt and deplored, in his intercourse with nearly the whole class, even what are deemed the most “decent” and respectable, the mass of prejudice, superstition, and general ignorance, which he is doomed to encounter ? The working man rarely knows how to better his lot in life, by rational reflection on causes and consequences, founded on early acquaintance with the simpler principles of trade, the state of particular employments, the legitimate relation between labour and capital, and between labourer and employer, the best employment of surplus earnings, the value of character, the marketable importance, to say no more, of sober and moral habits and intelligence, in short, on any practical views of the circumstances which influence his condition. On the contrary, he is the creature of impressions and impulses, the unresisting slave of sensual appetites, the ready dupe of the quack, the thrall of the fanatic, and, above all, the passive instrument of the political agitator, whose sinister views and falsehoods he is unable to detect, and who, by flattering his passions and prejudices, has power to sway him, like an over-

grown child, to his purposes of injustice, violence, and destruction. He is told in the harangue from the wagon, and he believes the demagogue's hypocritical slang, that his class, because the most numerous, are the most enlightened, and generous, and noble,—that they ought to make the laws, and rule the State ; nay that their will ought to be law, as their judgment is absolute wisdom. The poor man who believes this, will believe any thing, and will act on his belief as a ready instrument of violence. Witness the peril of the merely accused, but yet untried and unconvicted, who chance to fall into his hands, and a single hint in the street will raise the mob against an innocent person ; witness, too, the eager destruction of machinery and property, and the mad burning of food. Can we forget, moreover, the fury and violence with which benevolently offered medical aid in the cholera was repelled, under the impression that “the doctors” *induced* the disease to obtain subjects for dissection, and went the length of poisoning the water !

In nothing is the manual labourer more profoundly uninformed, than as to his own position in the market of labour, and the due relation of labour and capital. He is readily seduced to join combinations to *extort* larger wages and shorter hours, both of which misapplied, as, in his present condition intellectual and moral they would be, to the purposes of idleness and sensuality, would only render his condition worse ; and too often he is not slow to aid the physical force of such short-sighted unions, in intimidating and even assaulting, and, it has happened, maiming, nay murdering, other labourers who prefer giving their work to any employer, and

at any value they think fit, to joining in the "strike." By this attempt to force a larger share of capital than without force would come to him, the workman succeeds in nothing but driving it away from the place, or out of the country, and by his own act puts even the wages he quarrelled with out of his reach. Education alone will make it clear to him, that it is in vain for the labourers to expect, in a market where their numbers exceed the demand, to succeed ultimately in the objects of a strike. *Strike* they must, in another sense, in the conflict, and then they will find that they have reduced the amount of the capital which alone can employ and maintain them, and that fewer hands can be engaged at the same wages, or else lower wages than those that induced the stop, must be taken by the same number. *

The *pleasures* of intellectual recreation and taste are necessarily unknown to nearly the whole of the manual-labour class. In vain for them has the All-wise given to the intellectual faculties to reap the highest enjoyment from their own exercise; in vain for them has he connected exquisite delight with the contemplation of his boundless works and wonderful ways, of the transcendent beauty and sublimity of creation, and the harmonious relations of its infinitely varied parts, all tending to effect benevolent ends to sentient beings. The whole Book of Nature is sealed,—aye in this enlightened coun-

* Miss Martineau has demonstrated this economical result, with her usual felicity, in the "Manchester Strike,"—No. VII. of those truly wonderful productions of truth, feeling, and fancy, "Illustrations of Political Economy," known to the universal reading public, and marvelled at, as the work of a female pen.

try—sealed to the numerous sons and daughters of manual labour ! I am well aware of the benevolent exertions made to dispel the intellectual darkness by such institutions as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, by means of the cheapest periodical ever published, and by private undertakings, such as Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, and Information for the People. Yet I fear it will appear in the sequel, that these admirable repositories of knowledge, of taste, and of virtue, are to an immense extent lost upon the mass of ignorance and grossness to which they are directed ; and that, as shall likewise afterwards be shown to be true of religion itself, knowledge like that conveyed in the Penny Magazine and Chambers's periodicals, requires early elementary training, both intellectual and moral, for its beneficial reception.

Thirdly, The MORAL condition of a large proportion of the manual-labour class is as low, at least, as the intellectual. I formerly quoted Mr Wade's description of the moral condition of the manufacturing population of Manchester. But much short of this extreme is a low *moral*, in the more enlarged sense of that term ; and this, I fear, characterises a much wider range of the manual-labour class of the people. " Left to themselves," without an attempt made to restrain or regulate in infancy their animal propensities, or to call forth, cultivate, and exercise their moral sentiments, their faculties are prone to work as mere instincts, not greatly more under the guidance of reason than those of the inferior animals. It depends entirely upon his degree of natural endowment, whether each individual manifests more or less animal

feeling, more or less selfishness, more or less civility, kindness, or integrity. Without cultivation, the animalism may be expected to preponderate, whence the desires will be selfish, and the manners coarse and violent. Hence the suspicions, jealousies, and envyings of multitudes in that class, and, what when compared with their merits often surprises us, their vanity and self-sufficiency; hence also their tendency to act under the impulse of their feelings, and the obstacles they themselves oppose to all benevolent attempts to do them good. These they often repel, as covert evil intentions for a sinister end. Selfishness is suspicious, and it is notorious that charitable institutions and benevolent schemes are too often looked upon with distrust by those for whose benefit they are intended. Some have attributed the malicious destruction of ornament and elegant decoration, when exposed to persons of this class, as springing from an envious hatred of these marks of a refined enjoyment denied to themselves. I am rather disposed to think that an animal tendency to deface and destroy, which we observe in the youngest children, and which no pains has been taken to suppress or regulate by education, is sufficient to account for this unamiable trait of character in the humbler ranks of our countrymen. They are certainly not *yet* fit for free admission into parks, gardens, and museums; and these, if they have been opened to them, by way of experiment, have been speedily shut against their reckless destruction, and often disgusting abuse of the privilege. Infant-school trained children, it is well known, may be trusted in the saloons of a palace, or amidst the temptations of a flower or fruit garden.

The same training is the best preventive of cruelty to animals, a vice prevalent among the working classes, beginning with unchecked insect-torturing and rat and cat killing, and increased in their after years by cruel sports, boxing matches, and public executions to the length, in many cases, of dangerous ferocity.

The home of the manual labourer is often an uncomfortable one. I make exceptions here, and I trust they are numerous, as I have done under the heads of physical comfort and intellectual improvement; but I feel safe in speaking of a large portion who are below the moral rank of a peaceful and comfortable home. Of scanty supplies it is to be expected that much self-preference will be manifested in the partition; if the man frequents the pot-house, and drinks ardent spirits, his selfishness is always greatly aggravated, and fierce and often dangerous brutality is superadded. The habitually excited lower feelings debase the whole family. The wife, from ill-usage, often in spite of her best exertions, becomes as violent as her husband—if she has not, in her own improvidence and recklessness, to answer for his faults. The children, capriciously treated, are often wayward and obstinate, and the family circle exhibits a scene of strife, brawling, and violence. If our domestic servants often come from such homes, can we wonder at their proneness to manifest feelings which annoy us, oppose our wishes, and interfere with our comforts? I wish I could say that a low cunning does not prevail to a great extent among the manual-labourers; and that even the *simple* peasantry, as they are called, have not their share of this character; advantage-taking, in other words,

fraud, is often boasted of, as a proof of address and talent ; straitened circumstances induce grasping habits, when nice moral distinctions vanish, and the transition to crime is too easy. It follows that this class, not more from their numbers than the miserable habits of many of them, furnish, in a great proportion, what is called the criminal population. This last unhappy class of beings have all the worst habits we have described, and others yet more deeply immoral and dangerous to the community. That deplorable kind of human intercourse, by which the criminal corrupt and confirm each other, and seduce especially the young from honest labour to criminal courses, is described at length in the treatise on criminal legislation in the appendix, (No. I.) which will appear to the reader, in many particulars, to form an important and necessary sequel to the subject now before us.

There are who are blessed with a well-regulated home, whose members are accustomed, in the family intercourse, to control the unsocial and selfish feelings, and to exercise towards each other all the kindness and gentleness of the moral sentiments ; where each brings his or her share of knowledge, reflective sense, refinement, and elegance, to the common stock of domestic enjoyment ; and, contemplating in the luxury of such exalted intercourse, the temporal reward of the right use of the faculties which God hath bestowed, and a fore-taste of the exaltation of these faculties in eternal bliss, keep Him steadily before their eyes, in a sustained consciousness of gratitude and love. Such have forced upon their view a more striking contrast yet between the lot of the manual-labour class and their own, than the greatest possible difference in

the physical accommodations of life can suggest. Nor are the elements of this contrast confined to the working-classes. The rich in moral feeling may draw the same contrast between their own social condition and that of a large proportion of the imperfectly educated, whose physical condition is much above that of manual-labour. But when moral, intellectual, and physical privations combine to aggravate each other, a point of human degradation is reached, lower than which man can scarcely fall, and which calls aloud on every friend of his species to do what in him lies to raise his fellow men out of the mire in which they lie, and place them in the road which will bring them to a right use of their faculties, and its consequences in physical, intellectual, moral, and religious improvement.

The condition of the manual-labour class is unfavourably affected by several causes, partly extraneous to the fundamental source of their sufferings, their ignorance. One of these will be found in the incessant demand for their labour, to accumulate the gains of their employers, which has immemorially devoted three-fourths of the workman's waking hours to toil. Another is evident in the number of unwholesome occupations on which that toil is bestowed. Much light has been thrown, as already observed, on this last evil, in its various forms of vitiated air, deleterious materials, posture of body, exposure to sudden changes of temperature, and likewise on the preventives and remedies of the manifold evils thence arising, by Mr Thackrah, chiefly in relation to the manufacturing population of Leeds. But it is not likely that these preventives and cures of the effects of unwholesome

toil, will have the full efficiency intended by their benevolent proposer, or the season of labour itself be judiciously and beneficially abridged, without the aid of the workmen themselves, when more moral and enlightened than they yet are. Prolonged toil and unwholesome labour are, no doubt, in one sense, imposed upon the working class ; but were they more enlightened, they themselves will abridge the one, and counteract the other; the first by their own economy, moderation, and resource, and the second by the appliance of much qualifying self-protection. I shall have an opportunity of returning to this subject.

But perhaps the most gigantic evil, acting in co-operation with the ignorance of the working classes, is one which afflicts our southern neighbours of England more than ourselves ; and that is, the abuse of the Poor Laws, especially that unspeakable social gangrene the *Allowance System*, as it is called. By this, deficient wages are made up by alms, and a bounty offered for idleness, improvidence, and abandonment. The overwhelming consequences, which every economist predicted, have resulted in even a more blasting operation upon the whole condition and character of the working-class who have the misfortune of being within their influence, than was foreseen. The report of the Royal Commission of enquiry into the administration and operation of the Poor Laws, it is moral sickness to peruse. From the great mass of matter a volume of extracts, embracing its most important information, has been published under the authority of Government. It is a shocking detail. The miserable public economy of maintaining a great part of the popu-

lation as partial and often total sinecurists, in other words paupers, is tenfold aggravated, when the allowance, as is notoriously true, is extorted by violence, threats of incendiarism, and actual fire-raising ; for many of the fires have been traced to it. The evidence is overwhelming of the destruction, by this system, of the “ veracity, industry, frugality, and domestic virtues of the labourer ;” of “ the rapid increase of vice, and profligacy,”—“ the prevalence of the opinion that destitution, however produced, constitutes a claim to be supported by the community, and that dependence on the parish is preferable to independent labour,”—“ the destruction of reciprocal feeling between parents and children,”—“ desertion of wives by their husbands,”—“ gross sensuality,”—“ improvident marriages, (to the great increase of the evil of an over-stocked labour-market),”—“ crime as the result of pauperism,”—“ increase of illegitimate children, the allowance for an illegitimate being greater than for a legitimate child, and illegitimate children being a great advantage to their mothers under the present laws.”

When such a moral pestilence as this spreads over a land, in addition to the desert already made by popular ignorance, the Creator’s designs have been defied by his creatures, and they are suffering the penalty of their disobedience. The Poor Laws may be reformed, but it must be done with power ; an immense pauper population will cling to their abuses with convulsive pertinacity ; the only cure for the *pauper spirit* is popular education.*

* It is satisfactory to find, that this very conclusion with regard to education is come to by the Commissioners. I have seen their suggestions since the above was in types.

Lastly, We feel it almost a mockery, after the foregoing exposition, to ask what religion's progress is in the manual-labour class. It is the constant complaint of the teachers of religion, that its principles scarcely mingle in the thoughts, much less influence the actions, of the great body of this class.* I have always thought it a mistake to impute this to their want of the means of attendance on public worship; in their present state, intellectual and moral, if the doors of churches were thrown open to them freely, they would not, in any considerable numbers, enter them. The great majority want the impulse; that impulse is another word for the activity of the superior human faculties; but the inferior, almost exclusively, move the manual-labour class. Religion is not addressed to these; it calls upon the intellect and moral sentiments to control these, as the law in the members which wars against it. A weekly discourse is as the passing wind in the ears of the habitually greedy, the envious, the sensual, the tyrannical, the revengeful, the utterly selfish: a stated preceptive lesson to love God, and his neighbour as himself, is unheeded by the man whose whole soul is drawn by a power, which he was never taught practically to resist, in the opposite direction. When Sunday comes, he has the choice of listening to a repetition of this to him unwelcome precept, for the thousandth time, of hearing per-

* Dr Chalmers, in his speech in the Presbytery of Edinburgh on 23d January 1834, repeatedly deplored the "*practical heathenism*" in which thousands of the population of Edinburgh live. He had even recourse to the strong figure, that it is necessary "*to excavate the population, firmly imbedded in a mass of practical heathenism.*"

haps a purely doctrinal discourse on what have been mis-called the mysteries of a religion "revealed unto babes," or of enjoying a day of indolence, amusement, or sensuality, or all three. He would not be an uneducated, uninstructed, demoralized man, if he hesitated. In the towns, a very small proportion of the class in question, attend public worship.* In the country parishes, especially in Scotland, a considerable portion of this class *habitually* appear in church. The parish minister knows each individual, and possesses over him a prescriptive pastoral influence; he is known, moreover, to all his fellow parishioners; he is a slave to what in Scotland is called "the fear of the folk," and dreads the loss of character with which irregular performance of ostensible religious duties is followed.† But the church-going of a person so influenced is his whole religion; it has a set day, and is then suspended till that day week. Of natural religion, as inferred from the glorious manifestations of God in physical and moral creation, he has not an idea; some religious teachers even forbid him this ground; and his Christianity is a set of abstract notions, without the semblance of practical direction. Unqualified selfishness re-

* The opinion in the text was written before the report was published which contains the confirmative fact, that in the churches of Edinburgh, the low-rented sittings for the working classes are in by far the largest proportions untenanted.

† An Englishman lately witnessed in Scotland an instance of this *metus populi*, this *religio loci*. A native friend, with whom he was walking, fled from his side without uttering a word, and took up a safe position behind a hedge,—“the folk” were coming out of the parish-church, and although the fugitive must have known that half of them had been sleeping *in* it, he could not meet them!

sumes its reign in his heart, if it was ever suspended, and an influence the antipodes of Christianity masters him, and continues to impel his thoughts, words, and actions.* When we speak of a class, we are bound to make allowance for exceptions, and now, as I have done before, I cheerfully make it. But that I have rightly described the character of the religion of a large portion of his parishioners, will not only not be denied by any parish minister, but is bewailed by all, every day of their lives. Yet, for none of our wants is so much provision made as for our religious. There is error somewhere. Far indeed is it from my thoughts to impute blame to the excellent men who are labouring to “excavate the people from the mass of heathenism in which they are so firmly imbedded.” They have no power over an erroneous system, and one not of their own creating. But the application of their part of the process is premature. It is as if the metallurgist were to attempt to melt the gold before it is worked out of the vein; education is the only excavating process; preaching, in its utmost conceivable perfection, is a defective engine for the purpose, purely doctrinal preaching is utterly impotent.

If education shall elevate, as it will be shown that education alone can, the intellectual and moral, and, by necessary consequence, improve the physical, condition of man, education is the human means which must greatly

* This is especially true, when the uneducated man's pastor is of a sect that ranks doctrines so far above Christian morality, as nearly to shut out the latter from his pulpit. This has been too much the case with nearly all Protestant sects; their creeds scarcely allude to the moral precepts of the Gospel; some of them seem even to exclude them.

aid in *preparing* him to receive religious impressions in their genuine spirit, and to apply them to their intended practical ends. *Before* the sower went forth to sow, the soil was prepared. This previous preparation is so plainly pointed out in the parable, that it is surprising that any one can lose sight of it. He was on his way to prepared ground, when some seed fell by the uncultivated wayside. He did not expect to prepare the soil by the act of sowing the seed, else the seed would have taken root by its own virtue on the bare wayside, and risen and ripened even among the thorns. I shall have occasion to return to the important subject of a legitimate use of human means; these are, in truth, God's means, for they are the working of the faculties which He hath bestowed that they may be employed, and as such must be perfectly reconcileable with a rational and scriptural view of spiritual influences, which some sincere but over excited Christians regard as direct miracles. Alas! that their effects should be so little visible, and so limited! What the desiderated educational preparation shall be which will aid in furnishing the impulses to Christianity, not only for Sunday, but for every day of the week, will appear when I come to treat of Infant Education.

The reader is requested to view in retrospect, the sufferings of the manual-labour class of our country, arising mainly, if not entirely, from their own ignorance; and then survey the extent and nature of the provision made for their education, and he will cease to wonder. The great majority receive no education at all. The education of the class is certainly extending in England, and the parochial schools of Scotland are two centuries

old. But we come to the question, what is the *nature* of the education of the humbler classes which is extending in England, and has been so long established in Scotland? Is it of a kind to impart useful practical knowledge for resource in life—does it communicate to the pupil any light upon the important subject of his own nature and place in creation,—on the conditions of his physical welfare, and his intellectual and moral happiness;—does it, above all, make an attempt to regulate his passions, and train and exercise his moral feelings, to prevent his prejudices, suspicious, envyings, self-conceit, vanity, impracticability, destructiveness, cruelty, and sensuality? Alas! No. It teaches him to READ, WRITE, and CIPHER, and leaves him to pick up all the rest as he may! It forms an instructive example of the sedative effect of established habits of thinking, that our ancestors and ourselves have so contentedly held THIS to be education, or the shadow of it, for any rank of society! Reading, writing, and ciphering, are mere instruments; when attained, as they rarely or never are, after all, by the working class to a reasonable perfection, they *leave* the pupil exactly in the situation where he would find himself, were we to put tools into his hands, the use of which, however, he must learn as he may. We know well that he will be much more prone to misapply his tools, and to cut himself with them, than to use them aright. So it is with his reading; for really any writing and accounting of this class, even the most respectable of them, scarcely deserve the name, and may be here put out of the account. Reading consists in the recognition of printed characters arranged into syllables and words. With this most ab-

stract accomplishment may coexist unregulated propensities, selfish passions, sensual appetites, filthy and intemperate habits, profound intellectual darkness and moral debasement, all adhering to a man as closely after as before he could read ; and, be it marked, these qualities will give their bias to his future voluntary reading, and assuredly degrade and vitiate its character ; it will tend to strengthen his prejudices, deepen his superstitions, flatter his passions, and excite his animal appetites. Well is all this known to the agitator, the quack, and the corruptor. They know that the manual-labourer can read ; but they know, as well, that he is incapable of thinking, or detecting their impositions, if they only flatter his passions. No just views of life have ever been given him, no practical knowledge of his actual position in the social system. We are always told, that the majority of criminals cannot *read*, as if the mere faculty of reading would have diminished the number of criminals. This is a great delusion. For the reasons I have stated, mere reading might have increased the number of criminals, it would be quite ineffective in diminishing them. But if the investigation had gone the length of ascertaining with which of the criminals had an attempt at moral training and useful knowledge ever been made, we should have found *that* column of the table a blank, and something like cause and effect would begin to dawn upon us. It is needless to pursue so obvious a matter farther. If a national system of education is to stop at reading, writing, and ciphering, it would save much trouble and after disappointment not to attempt it at all. If I am reminded of the great improvements introduced by the

Lancasterian system, I answer, that I have not seen in the generality of such schools, any thing more than abridged methods—the monitorial chiefly—of teaching numbers to *read, write, and cipher*.* I am aware, too, of what is called the explanatory system, at the head of which stands pre-eminently Mr Wood of Edinburgh, which puts books of useful knowledge into the pupil's hands, and exercises him upon their import, with much collateral information. But that system does not introduce him to *realities*, to external nature and its qualities, and the relation thereof to himself; it does not impart to him a knowledge of the condition of his weal and happiness, and his real position in life. It is, besides, almost exclusively intellectual, and, except in religious lessons, is not addressed to the moral faculties directly. If there be a school for the children of the working class (excepting always the Wilderspin Infant Schools), which systematically takes pains to educate the pupil of this rank of life against the evils which have been shown to arise from his ignorance, and to a deplorable extent actually afflict him, I have not been so fortunate as to hear of it. In most schools, even the parochial, which by incogitate habit we call “the pride and glory of Scotland,” some sprinkling of the explanatory system has been introduced; twenty years ago, no attempt was made to explain any thing; but in none—certainly in none, is there any provision for the kind of education which is to make the working man wiser and better, in the manner I have attempted

* Mr Dun, of the Edinburgh Davie Street School, decidedly the best Lancasterian teacher I have yet met with, has introduced much useful knowledge into his plan; and, if the means were afforded him, would yet do much more.

to describe. A new and better system will make a great change on “the pride and glory of Scotland,” and, in that change, conferring a rather better claim to that title upon its parochial seminaries, greatly elevate the rank and endowments of their teachers. I know these to be in general excellent persons, much accustomed to be praised and starved by the Scottish public. I know some of them who are learned men, according to the usual acceptance of the word, that is, thorough Greek and Latin scholars ; others are mathematicians, and mechanical philosophers, and all are theologians ; but they might as well be Brahmins for any good their manual-labour pupils reap from *such* extra accomplishments, beyond reading, writing, and ciphering.

The reader is requested now to estimate the value of an opinion, so common as almost to have grown into a set formula, which we are quite certain of hearing given forth, by several ladies and gentlemen at once, in every company where the education of the manual-labour class is mentioned. “ I am no friend to over-educating the working classes,—education is running greatly too fast,—teach them to read and write, all beyond is above their condition, and only serves to make them discontented with it.” This current twaddle comes of the imperfection of the education of those who echo it ; an imperfection that has other bitter fruits, to be noticed in the next chapter ; the only excuse for it, is the ignorance of these opinionists of the length, and breadth, and height, and depth, of the social error which they espouse and circulate.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE EFFECTS OF IMPERFECT EDUCATION ON THE CONDITION OF THE CLASS OF THE PEOPLE ABOVE MANUAL-LABOUR.

The term "Educated class," relative—Our vast attainments in Physical Science—Confusion and error in Moral world—Controversy and party divisions—Contrast of sound legislation—General selfishness—Demands of Christianity—Religion of the "Educated"—Large provision for it—Want of educational preparation—Fanaticism and insanity—Certain social defects remnants of barbarism, national jealousies, offensive wars, criminal code, &c.—Barbarous customs, fox-hunting, engrossing rural sports, &c.—Happiness not attained, reasons—False views of life—Young men of fortune—Waste of life, wealth, and happiness by the affluent—Their marriages—Sedentary study—Instructive illustrations on this head—Incogitate pursuit of wealth—Over-trading, glutted markets—Unwelcome inquiry—Good admitted—Causes of our social evils—No moral training in education—Milton, Locke, Kames—Reading—Dead languages—False morality of classics—Barbarism of the ancients—Scientific studies—Science of Man, physiological, mental, and moral, a blank in Education.

THE term "educated class," as applied to the portion of our countrymen who are above manual-labour, will scarcely be taken by any one to mean that they enjoy the means of education perfect, or nearly perfect. The term is relative, and, certainly, when compared with the manual-labour class, who have no education at all worthy the name, *we* are an educated class. But no error is more profound, or more prevalent, than the persuasion that we are an educated class in the best sense of the term. Our complacent conclusions on the subject are, however,

exceedingly natural. Look, it is said, at our libraries, our encyclopedias, teeming, as they do, with knowledge in every branch of science and literature. See our chemical, mathematical, mechanical powers, with all their realized results, which seem to mould material nature to our will, and render life proudly luxurious. Then turn to our classical literature, our belles-lettres, our poetry, our eloquence, our polished intercourse, our refined society; consider our fine arts and elegancies; and, above all, think of our legislation, our political economy, our institutions of benevolence and justice, and the gigantic combinations of our entire national system. There is much in these high-sounding claims that deceives us. We are prone to borrow from the large fund of credit we possess in the exact and physical sciences, to place the loan to the account of universal intellectual and moral attainment, and to conclude that a pitch of improvement, which enables us to travel thirty miles an hour, must comprise in it every thing else of knowledge and power. But, alas ! when we look beyond the range of physical tangibilities, and, it may be, elegant literature, into the region of mental and moral relations, in short the science of man, upon which depend the wisdom of our legislation, and the soundness of our institutions and customs, what a scene of uncertainty do we see ! Fixed principles in social affairs have not yet been attained. Scarcely shall we meet two individuals who are guided by the same code. Hence controversy is the *business* of the moral, and assuredly, we may add, of the religious world. If any measure affecting the public is propounded, there arises a perfect hurricane of opposition and denunciation, as if

it were the most monstrous of errors, and the most atrocious of crimes. No plan or project, religious, civil, economic, or merely ornamental, can be proposed, without tearing to pieces the conventions of courtesy, nay, the feelings of common charity, and exposing a lamentable scene of inconsistency and passion. We find sects of men combining to attain by their union certain proposed ends, and these *seem* to be guided by principles which they all acknowledge ; for there is no want of party array, and skilful party tactics ; but when we find that the spirit of party is violence and hatred, we must search the humbler region of selfishness for the bond of their union, for we cannot recognise among them any thing which is entitled to be called profound philosophical, or high moral, principle. Nothing more exposes the low state of our present moral attainments than the endless disputes and hatreds, which are the sum and substance of what are called our *politics*. If the time shall ever arrive, when legislation shall be brief and practical, founded in benevolence and justice, purified of vain personal display, freed from selfishness, party spirit, pride of caste, and sacrifice to particular interests,—either of an exclusive aristocracy on the one extreme, or a reckless, impatient, and often most *aristocratic* democracy on the other,—when it shall cease to be fettered by a constituency less enlightened than representatives animated by a single-hearted love to their country and their species, when it shall become an easier task, because abuses will be already removed, and laws will come to be less retrospective remedies than onward meliorations, moving abreast with human improvement, what will be thought

of the political dissensions which at present degrade and retard public affairs ! Of the game of parties, with all its frauds and hypocrisies,—the irreconcilable varieties of opinion,—the diversity of views,—the fierceness of divisions ! A wide-spread selfishness alone accounts for this spectacle ; and who can deny that a systematic selfishness, regulated by law and conventional expediency, is the impelling power,—at once the bond which unites, and the divellent influence which tears asunder, the centripetal and centrifugal forces which preserve yet disturb the circumscribed orbit of our social relations. To engross as much wealth, gain as much of what is mis-called distinction, and outstrip our neighbour, is the business of life. We have, too, our cold-hearted *fashion*, which denies those without its frivolous pale well-nigh a common nature ; and we have all the successive exclusions and repellants descending in society, and freezing up the sources of good-will and brotherly love, which should flow downward to soften and fertilize the humblest regions of the community, and unite the whole in mutual good-will and contented co-operation. It is this habitual contumely which separates the great body of the manual-labour class from all who merely enjoy more physical comfort and ease of life, in a scowling attitude of distrust, envy, and hostility. Talk to us of a more liberal basis of social being, of a higher morality, a more wide spreading philanthropy, nay, of a mitigation of selfishness, a moderation of wealth-engrossing, a transference of our worship from artificial badges to real intellectual and moral merit, a kindlier feeling to our universal fellow-men, and we meet you with mockery, as we point to

what we call “human nature,” and return to our money-getting and self-exaltation. Buonaparte was right,—we *are* a nation of shop-keepers. Nevertheless, when it is put to us in the abstract, we admit that Christianity demands ALL and MORE than in practice we laugh to scorn, and we are terribly scandalized when our Christianity is doubted. Do we not attend church, and yield our assent to the precepts and doctrines there taught? Do we not prove our zeal by cordially hating all other religious sects, *cum odio theologico*? Are we not the foremost and the loudest in shouting the approved watch-words of “irreligion,” “infidelity,” to raise the *mob* to put down all heresy and schism,—that is, all opinions not our own? And are we not ready to shed our blood, if we refuse to mend our lives, for the Church, which has always formed an essential part of our politics, and been toasted by us in many an overflowing cup of conviviality?

It can scarcely be averred, that any considerable portion of the church-going of the “educated class,” have more practical week-day Christianity, than that which was predicated of the manual-labour class. If we should ask any of the first how much of what they listen to on Sunday influences their views and acts in life, they would be sorely puzzled to answer the question. Yet there are no institutions of public instruction, both as supported by state establishments, and by the zeal of private associations, more largely endowed than the ecclesiastical, no part of our well-being more cared for. What is the cause of so small a harvest, from so immense a cultivation? Why does not the seed so plentifully sown fructify and produce? There is but one answer to this

question, WE ARE NOT A MORALLY EDUCATED PEOPLE. There is a barrenness of soil among us, where genuine Christianity refuses to take root ; there is a worse, there are the thorns of an inherent selfishness, which choke it ; tares pre-occupy the whole field, and the husbandmen sow in vain. As was predicated of their efforts to excavate the lower classes from the heathenism in which they are imbedded, our religious guides address themselves to unprepared minds much higher up in the social scale. Yet, if a stranger to the actual religious condition of the “ educated ” were to hear our *talk* on the subject, he might mistake us for a religious people : if he contemplated our animosity, division, and violence in the matter, although he might miss the spirit of Christianity, he could not fail to be struck with our zeal each for his own dogmas, and for their substitution, by the force of *indirect* persecution, for all others ; dogmas, too, often adopted yesterday for others as dogmatically maintained the day before,—

“ As if religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended.”

Nay, he would see religious *feeling* running into the most extravagant credulity and fanaticism among us ; and if he did not know that that melancholy extreme is capable of a physiological explanation, as an actual disease of the brain, which sees visions, hears voices, and dreams dreams, he might conclude that we are an *over*-religious generation. But the indifference and the enthusiasm have alike their origin in an imperfect education, in unprepared uncultivated feelings, which, according to the predisposi-

tion and temperament, are either roused to excess by the mere sympathy—the hysteria of a diseased enthusiasm, or are not stirred at all.

A catalogue of our social defects, all referable to the education wherewith we are mocked, might be expatiated upon to the extent of a volume ; the remnants these, of barbarism which still clings to us and our institutions, customs, habits, and manners. I will venture to enumerate a few of these. We direct yet, for example, an evil eye to our fellow-men in other communities, and speak of our “ natural enemies !” We are disgraced by national jealousies, national antipathies, commercial restrictions, and often offensive war. We have our game laws and criminal code also to account for. Brought to the standard of sound ethics and reason, there are many of our customs that have as little chance as these of escaping the reproach of barbarisms, which an educated people would disown, cruel rural sports, for example, fox-hunting, horse-racing, betting, gambling, prize-fighting, duelling, and excessive conviviality. The character and engrossing claims of rural sports, as they are called, will astonish a future better educated age.* Such an age will scarcely believe “ the butcher work that then befell” the unsparing slaughter of all that is furred and feathered and finned, in field and flood, “ on mountain, moss, and moor ;” they will discredit the graft of the

* I say *engrossing* claims, for I grant that killing game is as legitimate as killing mutton, and do not quarrel with a subordinate and moderate resort to the field by those whose main avocations are more useful and dignified. It is healthful exercise ; I cannot concede to it a higher merit.

hunting stage of the race upon a civilization, at its lowest, immensely in advance of that stage ; they will reject the story that the boast of the Iroquois and the Esquimaux was also the distinction of the most polished ornaments of our drawing-rooms, namely the havoc of their unerring aim, the life they have extinguished, the blood they have shed, the "head of game" they have gloried over as trophies spread out dead before them, and the larders which they have outdone the butcher in stocking ! All is not right in our habits of thinking,—in other words in our education,—when our "elite" can claim, and multitudes can accord, a certain distinction to a "capital shot," the victor in what the Olympics knew not,—"a steeple chace," or the proprietor of a pony which can trot sixteen miles an hour !

I know the ready answer to such strictures on rural sports, and that answer implies the very educational vacuum which there is so much reason to deplore. It is of great importance, it is said, to our rural population, that the aristocracy shall pass a reasonable portion of their time in the country. They are the spoiled children of excitement, and if you withhold that in the country, they will seek it in the capital, in pursuits and pleasures infinitely more debasing and more ruinous to health and fortune. Look at Paris. Is an *educated* aristocracy here spoken of ? Is it indeed so, that in the alternative of their urban or rural excitement the objects are so low ? Is it indeed so, that without the slaughter of its innocent animals, which spread a living poetry over its fields, our "better classes" find no attractions in the country, no delight in "the green fields of England in the merry month of May," no

luxury in the roses of June, the pride of July, the mellowness of autumn ; that they indeed—

“ Renounce the boundless store
Of charms which Nature to her votary yields,
The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields,
All that the genial ray of morning gilds,
And all that echoes to the song of even,
All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,
And all the dread magnificence of heaven.”

Can we have a more rousing proof than this of a defective, nay a perverted education? I say perverted, for the barbarism is actually inculcated ; the *vacuum* is filled, by precept and example, with images of rural slaughter ; the young idea is taught to *shoot* most carefully, and the *tender* thought assiduously reared, which longs for manhood and bloodshed. The spirit of severity, and even cruelty and blood, of our criminal code, has with no small reason been imputed, in some respects, to this remnant of the hunting stage of society.

The evils suffered by society from ignorance of the human faculties, and their right application, will be more obvious, when we come to inquire what the faculties and their relations are ; it may suffice at present to say, that happiness is rarely if ever attained, and that the preponderance of selfish feelings which are incapable of rational satisfaction, verifies the truth that “ all is vanity and vexation of spirit.” Ignorance of physical and organic conditions of health produces disease, while it transmits the consequences in weakened constitutions to offspring. The selfish desire of wealth brings together in matrimonial alliance

the predisposed to disease and insanity, and bitter domestic suffering is the consequence. The same desire of wealth, added to ambition to rise above others, regulate or rather derange the whole system of life, and there is not one ray of light but *disregarded* Christianity, to guide in a direction more consistent with real happiness. This is ignorance of the moral conditions of human weal. An enlightened friend of the author's once asked an excellent young man about to embark for India, what views he entertained of life, and the objects of his own existence? The question was new to him. He had been "well educated," in the common acceptation of the words, but he had never conceived that life had any higher aim than to acquire a fortune, marry, rear a family, live in a fine house, drink expensive wines, die, and go to heaven! There was no provision in this for reaping enjoyment from the higher faculties of his nature; he was not aware that these had any other function to perform than to regulate his conduct in the pursuit of the gratification of his inferior feelings. This is the condition of mind in which almost all young men of the upper and middle classes of society enter into active life; and nothing can well be conceived more disadvantageous to their success and happiness. Those who are what is called religiously educated, are not more fortunate; because no sect in religion has yet addressed itself to the duty of teaching the nature of man, the value of pursuits in life, the institutions of society, and the relation of all these to the religious and moral faculties of man; without understanding these, no person entering upon active life can see his

way clearly, or entertain consistent or elevated views of duty, and the true sources of happiness.

This deficiency in knowledge is also remarkably exemplified in young men born to large fortunes, who have succeeded in minority to their paternal estates, and, on attaining majority, are by law entitled to pursue their own happiness in their own way. It is quite lamentable to observe the humble, the debasing course they almost always adopt. Rational views of themselves, of human nature, and of the institutions of society, would be invaluable to such individuals ; but they have no adequate means of obtaining them, while positively false views have been implanted in their minds by a perverted education. I grant the case to be an extreme one, of a young gentleman of large fortune, not destitute of talents and good feeling, and regularly subjected to all the appliances of dead language education at school and college, who, on the day of his majority, was declared a free man, with power to chuse the most likely road to real happiness. What did he do ? He established, of course, a stud of hunters, a pack of hounds, and a whole armoury of fowling-pieces,—galloping and blazing and slaughtering being universally held inseparable from wealth and rank, in the present state of civilization. Coach-driving, either of private four-in-hand vehicles or the public conveyances, is no longer sanctioned by general approbation, as suiting the age ; nevertheless our hopeful had a trial of coach-driving. From this he was diverted by matrimony, and postnuptially took to another gratification of his faculties of rather an original kind ; he placed cats upon a float in the middle of a pond, and sent dogs to swim in

and attack them ! This last occupation would have been disdained by a young nobleman of immense possessions, who, at a feast in honour of his majority, manifested the best natural dispositions, by acknowledging that he had always been taught, and had always felt, that the great duty imposed upon him by his rank and fortune, was to do *good*. The declaration was sincere, and the character of the speaker such as to warrant the belief that he would act upon it, if his education had been such as to have shewn him *how* to do so, or rather, as the previous point, *what* to do. To keep a pack of hounds, to be followed over fields and enclosures by the *elite* of the county, does not stand very high in the scale of good : to engage keenly in party politics is not good, for these are generally incompatible with the general weal : to dispense costly and luxurious hospitality indiscriminately, is to do wide-spreading mischief : to pursue or encourage idleness or frivolous occupations, is not good : to strengthen, by influence and example, the pride of rank and its correlative sycophancy, to uphold the heartless, icy, withering, barriers of fashion, and, by external pomp, circumstance, and equipage, to shut out knowledge of, and sympathy with, the general mass of society, cultivated and uncultivated, are all severally bad, and, although much the practice of our nobility, injurious, in a degree to which their education shuts their eyes, to themselves and to society. Education, rendered what it ought to be, will point out “ what is good,” both in its temporal and spiritual sense, to the wealth-loaded favourites of fortune. “ To do good and to communicate,” is eminently in their power, if they will first, “ with all their gettings, get

knowledge," and apply it to useful purposes ; if they will learn and value the acts and manifestations of high intellectual and moral endowments, more than physical comforts, sensual enjoyments, and external pomp ; if they will seek the society of enlightened and benevolent men, whose intellects are replenished with knowledge of the Creator's works and ways, whose hearts swell with wonder, adoration, and love, whose whole minds are instinct with sympathy with, and ardent desire for, human happiness. With their aid they would know how to convert their wealth into a powerful engine of social benefit, and, from this the legitimate gratification of the higher faculties of their nature, they would enjoy as well as confer real good.

The very proposition of such a course for a rich, splendid, elegant, and "spirited" young nobleman, would of course, *at present*, raise in himself and the whole table he presides at, a roar of incredulous and scornful laughter, the natural expression of the very barbarism so much to be deplored. But, with more enlightened views, it will come to be acknowledged that the waste of life, fortune, and happiness, by the affluent, which characterizes the present, as it has marked the past ages of the world, is owing, in no small degree, to ignorance of human nature, its wants and capacities—in other words, to imperfect education.

A volume might be filled * with proofs of the suffer-

* An admirable volume has been so filled—"The Constitution of Man in relation to External Objects"—by Mr George Combe, of Edinburgh, a work in its second edition in America, and already translated into French, German, and Swedish.

ing from ignorance which visits all classes, and none more than the higher. The inactivity of the faculties of persons of fashion, is a perfect *tedium vitæ*. There vacuity and dislike to mental exercise is constant ennui, and their indisposition to muscular exercise and fresh air, brings in its train a whole catalogue of ailments. Their carriages “stop the way” to health, bloom, and beauty. Who has not pitied, when they were thought to envy, the pale-faced victim dragged to what is called an airing, in which lungs and limbs are alike unconcerned, and are both tending to a state of disease by impeded circulation and impaired digestion. Much of high life is an ignorant defiance of Nature’s laws, and is visited with enfeebled functions, lassitude, uneasiness, anxiety, and a thousand evils, arising from infringement of institutions, which, when observed and obeyed, lead to delight and happiness. No considerations but rank and wealth determine matrimonial alliances, and these are often in consequence ill assorted. The enfeeblement and diseases of high life are by Nature’s law transmitted to offspring, as surely as those of the reckless and dissolute mechanic ; the powers of mind suffer deterioration from the influence of impaired nerves and brain ; the race itself degenerates, and imbecility and even insanity visit the palaces of the great, much more, in proportion to their numbers, than the hovels of the poor.

It is lamentable to see ignorance of the conditions of health inducing the aspirant to college honours to impose upon himself more prolonged labour than that to which the manual-labourer is forced by want of bread, reckless that he loses health and life in the pursuit. In

the biographies of early talent, when I have come to the usual passage, "when his companions played, he remained to read and study," I have looked on a few pages, and always found that he died early. No attempt is made in our defective education to inculcate and impress such knowledge upon us ; and we find the most talented men acting in practical disregard of these conditions of health and longevity. I cannot withhold the following apposite and most instructive passage from Mr Combe's work, already referred to, on the Constitution of Man. "No idea can be more preposterous, than that of human beings having no time to study and obey the natural institutions. These laws punish so severely, when neglected, that they cause the offender to lose *tenfold more time* in undergoing his chastisement, than would be requisite to obey them. A gentleman extensively engaged in business, whose nervous and digestive systems have been impaired by neglect of the organic laws, was desired to walk in the open air at least one hour a-day ; to repose from all exertion, bodily and mental, for one full hour after breakfast, and another full hour after dinner, because the brain cannot expend its energy in thinking and aiding digestion at the same time, and to practise moderation in diet ; which last he regularly observed ; but he laughed at the very idea of his having three hours a-day to spare for attention to his health. The reply was, that the organic laws admit of no exception, and that he must either obey them, or take the consequences : but that the time lost by the punishment would be double or treble that requisite for obedience ; and accordingly the fact was so. Instead of his attending an appointment, it is

quite usual for him to send a note, perhaps at two in the afternoon, in these terms :—‘ I was so distressed with headach last night, that I never closed my eyes, and to-day I am still incapable of being out of bed.’ On other occasions he is out of bed, but apologises for incapacity to attend to business, on account of an intolerable pain in the region of the stomach. In short, if the hours lost in these painful sufferings were added together, and distributed over the days when he is able for duty, he would find them far outnumber those which would suffice for obedience to the organic laws, and with this difference in the results ; by neglect he loses both his hours and his enjoyment ; whereas by obedience, he would be rewarded by aptitude for business, and a pleasing consciousness of existence.”

Perhaps the most wide-spreading mischief to society comes of the only other ignorance with which I shall detain the reader, the ceaseless, indiscriminate, and incogitate pursuit of wealth. There are no limits to this object with most men, but the stern barriers of law. Merchants and manufacturers hasten to be rich beyond the course of nature : they engage in adventures for which they have neither capacity nor talents ; they enter into the most inconsiderate partnerships ; they lend and borrow and involve each other in the consequences of the rashest speculations ; and they live in splendour far beyond their means.

Machinery should reasonably abridge bodily toil, and leave leisure for intellectual and moral improvement, with its concomitant enjoyment ; but machinery has been used only to overlabour workmen and overstock mar-

kets ; prices fall ruinously low ; the labourers lately over-worked are thrown idle, and left to starve or be supported on charity ; what are called “ better ” times return ; the glut is removed, work is abundant ; avarice again overdoes, and again the market is glutted, and the labourers again thrown into idleness, starvation, and misery. In 1825–6–7, these views were fearfully verified ; large bodies of workmen were supported on charity. For many miserable hours they were idle, which hours, distributed over the time of their labour, would have afforded them sufficient daily subsistence. The Creator intended man to labour a reasonable portion of his time, but when man infringes this law by abuse, he defeats his own end ; he is thrown idle longer than all the time put together which, in each day, would have given him salutary leisure. This has been written in broad characters, and should be remembered. It is a curious and instructive fact, that when these miscalled good times returned, and labour was in request, workmen struck for higher wages, and for months some manufactories were from this cause stopped ; when the glut returned and its consequences, these masters were the most fortunate, for they had less on hand, and, blind themselves, had been taught by their blind workmen in quest of a different object, that the overtrading of their neighbours was a folly which they had, by no wisdom of their own, but by an accidental combination of circumstances, escaped. At the present moment, prosperity has returned : the seconder of the Address, in the House of Commons, the other night, went into a detail to show that *all* our manufactures were thriving and affording full em-

ployment. Let us not boast. Love of money, hurry to be rich, still afflicts our imperfectly educated capitalists. Competition will urge them on in the race, another glut will stop them, their workmen will again be thrown idle, and much commercial distress will be the consequence. In nothing is education more wanted, than for the attainment of principles which shall put the race for wealth under rational practical regulation, that it may not defeat itself, and subject society to a constant alternation of mock prosperity and overwhelming misery.

But we must proceed, from the evils which visit the class of society above manual labour, although they are by no means exhausted, to a short inquiry into their causes. Before doing so, however, it may be necessary to guard the picture I have drawn from the imputation of being overcharged, and on that ground rejected as altogether false. This objection is most likely to come from persons who live in comfortable circumstances, and a fair external good will towards the circle of their acquaintances, the world to them, and among whom they know kind-hearted, decent, moral, religious, and even a few generous individuals; who shrink from the disgusting task of examining the sores of society, or going deeper than a very satisfactorily varnished skin which covers them; who feel in their own persons no inconvenience from alleged social evils, the degradation, physical and moral, of the working classes, and the humble attainments and practical errors of the middle and higher; and who even resent being disturbed by the tiresome people who are always croaking "that whatever is is wrong," instead of enjoying the far more consolatory conviction, that whatever is

is right. Readily do I concede to the most contented of these objectors, that there *is* a large portion of genuine good, moral and religious, in society; that this, with a much larger ingredient of conventional morality, and its result positive law, preserves the system from falling to pieces, which it would do in an hour were the picture I have drawn of the lower and higher classes of universal and unqualified application. The higher sentiments *are* at work in our legislation, and our social economy; justice is extending its influence, and benevolence and charity are distinguishing the age*. But while all this is granted, it is maintained that the positive evils which have been enumerated, *do* exist; nay more, that they immensely preponderate, and we should deeply miscalculate if we glossed over and spared them for the sake of the good wherewith they are mixed. When the question is answered, What is our Education? all that has been said of our condition will be easily and naturally accounted for.

First, There exist no adequate means, either in private families or public institutions, with the exception of Infant Schools, of which in the sequel, for educating the feelings, improving the dispositions, restraining the inferior propensities, and exercising the higher sentiments,—in short, for MORAL TRAINING. In all this we took our chance, and picked up what we might from partial

* The entire generation is apt to take credit for the institutions of charity. The subscription lists of these tell a different tale. It has been observed, that about 1500 *known* individuals, of the 150,000 of which Edinburgh is composed, support all the charitable establishments in the place. The London proportion would be 15,000. It would be interesting to know how the fact stands,—*charity* balls and musical festivals, of course, excluded.

parents, nursery maids, and juvenile companions. The animal feelings being the strongest, acted in us with all the blindness, and all the power of instincts, and laid a broad and deep foundation for habitual selfishness. There is no greater change, nay, revolution in education, than will arise out of the nascent want,—the incipient demand which is felt by the more enlightened part of society, for this, education's paramount object. Multitudes do not yet know what it means, or laugh at it as a wild chimera, when they succeed in imperfectly taking in the idea. The refracted ray—the full light, is seen from the mountain before it shines upon the valley; but it must shine as the day, and widely influence our institutions, before we shall merit the name of an educated people. As a proof of the slow progress of truths which nevertheless concern man in his most vital social interests, it is instructive to look back and find such truths announced to an age long past, by master minds that arose long before the generation qualified to appreciate their genius, and profit by their wisdom. Milton and Locke both advocated moral training; they held it paramount to intellectual, and intellectual merely subservient to it. One hundred and fifty years have passed since they urged on the notice of their countrymen its superiority and necessity; but no attempt was made to act upon the principles they taught, till within the last fifteen years, when the first Infant School realized their bequest to their country, and commenced the era of moral education. I cannot withhold the solemn words of these great men. Impressed, as I am profoundly, with a conviction of their transcendent value, they are to me, as it were, “ the voice

of the spirits of the mighty dead." Milton's words are these, "The end of learning is to repair the ruin of our first parents, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest, by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the Heavenly grace of faith, make up the highest perfection."—(*Letter to Samuel Hartlib.*)

Locke says, "It is virtue, then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education, and not a forward pertness, or any little arts of shifting. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way, and be postponed to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which tutors should not only read lectures and talk of, but the labour and art of education should furnish the mind with, and fasten there, and never cease till the young man had a true relish of it, and placed his strength, his glory, and his pleasure in it."—*Locke's Thoughts concerning Education*, § 70.

"Learning must be had, but, in the second place, as subservient only to greater qualities. Seek out somebody (as your son's tutor,) that may know how discreetly to form his manners: place him in hands where you may as much as possible secure his innocence, cherish and nurse up the good, and gently correct and weed out any bad inclinations, and settle him in good habits. This is the main point, and this being provided for, learning may be had into the bargain."—§ 147.

"But under whose care soever a child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible years of his life,

this is certain, it should be one who thinks *Latin and language the least part of education* ; one who, knowing how much virtue and a well tempered soul is to be preferred to any sort of learning or language, makes it his chief business to form the mind of his scholars, and give that a right disposition ; which, if once got, though all the rest should be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the rest ; and which, if it be not got and settled so as to keep out ill and vicious habits, languages and sciences, and all the other accomplishments of education, will be to no purpose but to make the worse or more dangerous man.”—§ 177.

Lord Kames anticipated his age more than half a century. In his *Hints on Education*, with profound truth to us, but mere sentimental writing to the generation he addressed, he says, “ It appears unaccountable that our teachers generally, have directed their instructions to the head, with very little attention to the heart. From Aristotle, down to Locke, books without number have been composed for cultivating and improving the understanding : few in proportion for cultivating and improving the affections. Yet surely, as man is intended to be more an active than a contemplative being, the educating of a young man to behave properly in society, is of still greater importance than the making him even a Solomon for knowledge.” Society has suffered much, and suffers severely yet, for its ignorant neglect of these admonitions. The principle and the practice of moral training will be detailed in its proper place.

Having, worse than lost five or six years in the nursery,—having passed the practicable season of moral

training, with all our natural faults about us, tempers unregulated, pride and vanity decidedly pampered, and selfishness aggravated, we were sent to school to LEARN to READ. That there is some improvement in schools, it would be great injustice not to acknowledge ; but few *adults* can say that more than mere reading was in their first school instruction vouchsafed to them. Even yet no attempt is made to direct aright the natural appetite of the young to know. Reading is a useful instrument of knowledge, but it is gross ignorance to call it knowledge itself. Even at an age earlier than that of our “English school,” the faculties ardently crave their natural food—knowledge. The infant purveys, in some degree for itself, to the great reproach of its unenlightened instructors. At school, these knowledge-craving faculties have little or nothing done for them ; on the contrary, their natural neglect of the school-book, the result of their preference of something else much more instructive as well as delightful, was punished as idleness and frivolity ; and we left our first school as we went to it, without scarcely any addition to our knowledge.

We were now eight or nine years of age, and not past the season for yet commencing useful knowledge training. Creation might yet have been made to open upon us to the incalculable enlargement of the fund of our happiness, and these faculties might still have been delightfully exercised, by which knowledge is acquired and stored ;—but no ! “the usages of society” demanded that we should then commence “a classical education ;” in other words, the study, for from six to ten years, of the languages which were spoken by the Greeks and Romans, and

which being no longer the vernacular tongues of any living people, are called the dead languages. There is a strong feeling prevailing that this usage is a monstrous error; in the educational crisis at which we have arrived, it is beginning to be inquired into; and there can be no doubt that the schools of the dead languages are falling off in popularity. This is, therefore, a subject which I am not warranted to omit in this treatise. There is odium and imputed presumption in even approaching the strongholds of habit and prejudice with an enquiring purpose; and that odium always holds an inverse proportion to the merit of the system or practice to be investigated. Truth and real merit neither dread nor resent free discussion. It is matter, too, of current observation, that the temperature of controversy is always increased when interests are endangered: when, therefore, we consider the splendid endowments, especially in England, for the study of classical literature, which have stood for centuries in venerable grandeur, and continue to dispense the richest prizes, it were in vain to look for dispassionate discussion in those who enjoy or look forward to these objects. Antiquity and wealth, however, are not in themselves valid defences of social evils. The time is come for a grave trial of the claims of the dead languages to engross so many of the years of youth, to the exclusion nearly of all other kinds of education. If their advocates and incumbents be confident of the strength of their cause, they ought to court the inquiry, to save them from being prejudged by a practical rejection which is daily gaining ground.

It is a natural result of the long reign of an institution

which it is held a sort of treason to question, that it is ill prepared for its defence when it comes to be put upon it. The treatises professedly defensive of classical literature are few, because, like the popish faith, it has long claimed infallibility, and the need of apologies for it was as little dreamed of as arguments for popery at Rome. When we do meet with that superfluity, as hitherto deemed, a defence of Latin and Greek, or rather a catalogue of their merits which is not expected to be questioned, it is wonderful how feeble we find it: scarcely an exception exists; even the talent of a Vicesimus Knox is nought here. The advocates of the dead languages uniformly avoid, or at least mistake, the true ground of the controversy. They expatiate on the absolute merits of classical literature, but never dream of comparing it with the education which it excludes. When the question, however, is set on this latter ground, it is capable of great abridgment; for, though we should grant much of absolute value to the actual attainment of classical accomplishment, the experience of centuries has demonstrated that it is of value to so few of those who are forced to pursue it, that the patient repetition of the error from generation to generation,—the unquestioned duty of each oblivious father to enter his son in the classical curriculum, as he was entered by his son's grandfather, in which he is to devote years to what is expected to be faithfully forgotten, *more majorum*, affords a striking proof of the force of an ignorant custom enthralling an imperfectly educated people. Were the actual value, then, of classical study tenfold what it is, if it be true that ninety-nine in every hundred who engage in it fail, and for centuries

have failed, of attaining to that degree of proficiency which is of any value at all, then classical study is not the proper education for ninety-nine in every hundred of those who at present lose their time in the pursuit of it; and who, as there is no substitute, are left uneducated to all useful practical ends and purposes. What is therefore wanted, is to abolish the *exclusiveness* of the dead languages; to allot them their proper place as subjects of study; to render them easily accessible to all who seek them, either as necessary to a learned profession, as a direct gratification of taste, or an elegant accomplishment; and at the same time to substitute in early and general education, objects of study more practically useful, which, from their nature, will be better remembered, and will furnish the substantial power of knowledge and resource for life. All the *real* benefit to society from the classics, will thus be preserved; it being obvious that no benefit accrues in any way whatever, either to the student or the community, from their stated oblivion. When we come to the proposed educational substitute, however, it is hoped it will be admitted that the condition of the non-classical world, will, after all, not be so desolate; and that, though labouring in another field, or travellers by another road, they will present an aspect of society at least as enlightened, as powerful, and as accomplished, as any to be found within the walls of the most ancient classical foundations. Now all this is true, even on the assumption of greater advantages than can well be conceded to the dead languages; but it is still more worthy of consideration, if it be true that their value is greatly overrated.

What is arrogated for Latin and Greek, may be comprised in a few particulars. They afford, it is said, the best possible discipline for the intellectual faculties ;—they are, from their perfection as tongues, the best known subjects of philological exercise ;—for the same reason they are the most perfect instruments of thought with which we are acquainted ;—as radical languages they are the sources of a most extensive and instructive etymology ;—they are the depositories of much useful science and sublime philosophy, physical and moral ;—they are, finally, par excellence, the native tongues of poetry, eloquence, wit and taste. Generally, I would humbly argue, that none of these claims are exclusive, even if granted to their fullest extent. The study of English alone, to say nothing of other modern languages, affords ample scope for intellectual discipline, to the limited extent that language can supply it ; our own tongue is a copious and refined instrument of thought, and is capable of a most critical and logical analysis ; the Celtic, Saxon, and Scandinavian, have stronger claims on the ground of etymology, yet are never appealed to as necessary to explain their derivatives, and no more need the Latin and Greek. We are richer than Greece and Rome in poetry, oratory, wit and taste, because we have all theirs transfused, and all our own superadded ; and, lastly, our science and philosophy reduce the pretensions of the Latins and Greeks, in this particular, to utter insignificance.

It is no reply to say that all these advantages were originally borrowed from the ancient tongues. This is granted, and gratefully acknowledged ; still, if it was borrowed, it is incorporated ; the loan is not merely en-

joyed, but added to an immense superstructure of capital unknown to the lenders. Into English *are* transferred and incorporated correct logical grammar,—copious, refined, and exquisitely various, expression,—a store of taste, elegance, imagery, pathos, wit and criticism,—and all the science worth transferring ; while the ancient authors themselves are all translated, to the complete and undeniable appropriation of every thing but certain felicitous turns of expression, the only quality which translation cannot transfer, but at its best a luxury, too dearly purchased by exclusive study for one fourth of a lifetime. It is undeniable, that, as records of ancient civilization, such as it was, and of the institutions, laws, philosophy and literature of Greece and Rome, they are all transferred into our own language. An unfair use is made in the controversy, of the fact that the New Testament is written in Greek ; and a sort of charge of impiety is insinuated against those who object to the universal study of the tongue on this account. Now, no one has gone so far as to propose to extinguish Greek as an entity, or to deny that theologians ought to be master of it. But if the Christian message is only to be understood in Greek, why was it translated into English, and in that language alone read to and by the universal British people, with the perfect sanction of their spiritual guides, themselves masters of the original ?

This discussion might be extended far beyond the space which can be allotted to it here. It may be observed, summarily, 1st, It is to mistake, as shall be made to appear in the sequel, the nature and operation of the faculties of the human mind, to talk of cultivating an in-

strument of thought *previously* to using it in actual thinking. The use of the tool is learned by applying it to the material, and cannot be learned without it; and, moreover, the material must be understood before the tool can be even conceived. The faculties require knowledge first, and then expression in language; to reverse the order were a solecism; in a word, thought must precede language; the utmost analytical refinements of language are only so many means of expressing varieties of thought; the language did not create the thought, but the thought demanded the language; so that when a mere philologist is engaged in his analytical task, and is dealing with ideas as well as words, he deceives himself if he thinks that the most refined expressions, the most delicate shades of meaning, suggested the ideas; much more if he imagines that they constitute the ideas themselves. How and where ideas are to be obtained by the *right* exercise of the faculties will afterwards be shewn; and it is trusted that it will then appear that nature has ordained a better course for this than translating, analyzing and parsing a page of Greek; nay, that this last operation itself will be more intelligently and usefully performed by the student, who comes to it with the knowledge stores of an intellectual training more in accordance with nature.

2d, It will likewise be shewn in the sequel, that there are modes of disciplining the mind much more effectual than the most critical philology, which itself will be incalculably aided by that previous better discipline. As languages, Greek and Latin exercise but one faculty,—viz. verbal memory; their advocates who argue that they communicate a store of ideas, forget that these are as distinct

from the languages themselves, “as is the swimmer from the flood,” and that there are better, because more natural, modes of obtaining them, modes much more entitled to the name, of intellectual discipline.

3d, The etymological argument is losing weight every day. The derivatives in English are made, and most successfully, direct subjects of study, and as easy of comprehension as their roots. As already said, we follow this course with all words of Celtic, Saxon, or Scandinavian origin; it is followed now, with regard to derivatives from Greek and Latin, by every school girl; till all the terms of art and science so derived, are becoming as familiar as such words as *telescope*, *philosophy*, *anatomy*, *panorama*, &c. from the Greek, and *mensuration*, *rejection*, *emancipation*, *caution*, &c. from the Latin.*

4th, No one who knows them, denies the splendour, —imaginative, however, more than moral,—of classical poetry and oratory, more than he disallows the claims of painting, music, sculpture, and architecture. It is, however, not too much to condition for the former, as we always do for the latter, that those only whose talents point in the direction of the objects so as to offer a chance of excellence, should devote themselves to them. But we have English poetry.

“ ————— We too can sing
With Lycidas, and build the lofty rhyme.”

We have exquisite poetry, besides, from female pens,

* Etymological Dictionaries are now in every girl's school. Dr Harrison Black has ably supplied this desiderate.

whose authors never read a Greek or Latin poet in the original.

5th, It is matter of surprise to meet with the argument of *science* outside the walls of a *very* old classical foundation, within which the actual state of the scientific world is unknown. Latin and Greek contained science for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but it is surely too much to send the student of the nineteenth to the ancient authors for science. Every thing true and useful in these is to be found, improved upon an hundred fold, in thousands of English books; while the great proportion that is false and useless is better forgotten. We can study Euclid's relations of extension, Diophantus's relations of number, and Archimedes's demonstration of specific gravity, of the properties of the lever, and of the relations of the sphere, cylinder, and cone,—found by Cicero sculptured on his monumental stone,—without requiring previously to learn Greek. No teacher of chemistry, mechanical philosophy, anatomy, physiology, or medicine, would dream of recommending to his pupils the ancient theorists on these induction-created sciences; if they did so, it would only be as a curious history of error, a subject for antiquarian research.

If for moral science, or ethics, we are told to go to Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Zeno, Epicurus, Cicero, and Seneca, the answer will naturally be—to which of all these? for the metaphysics, morals, and ethics of none of the Greek sages—Cicero and Seneca were scarcely original theorists—agree with those of another. I am well aware that the same difficulty occurs to perplex our choice among modern metaphysicians and moral philoso-

phers,—at least down to the time of Professor Dugald Stewart, who joins in the confession of the Abbé Bonald, that that philosophy is yet in expectation : but surely we need not take the trouble to learn Latin and Greek in quest of true philosophy not there to be found, merely that we may read, in the original, ingenious theories founded on false views of human nature, declamatory generalities about virtue and happiness, the practical worthlessness of which was exposed by their lack of practical effects in mitigating the selfishness, injustice, cruelty, and vice, of the people to whom they were taught, or rather before whom they were vainly displayed.

But this is not all that may be said on the head of the morality of the classics ; there is another view of this topic deeply affecting the weal of society. Morality is placed by the classical authors upon a false and any thing but a Christian basis ; and yet they are most strenuously advocated by the clergy, especially in England, as the most appropriate discipline for the youthful mind. This is evidently the result of the habit of not inquiring into the nature and consistency of long established customs. As part of an education professedly Christian, admiration of the ancient heathens is worked up almost to idolatry in the student : their natural selfishness and injustice, called patriotism, are positively recommended as the noblest objects of imitation ; the history of their murderous aggressive wars, rapine, and martial glory, is listened to with delight, and made in mimic essay the pastime of the play-ground of every grammar school ; the sensuality and profligacy that defiles, sometimes with nameless abomination, the pages of the satirical and other

poets, which, countenanced for a moment, would meet with and merit stoning by the populace, nay the immoralities of the mythological pantheon itself, as a subject of study in a Christian country, have all, as stated exercises for our youth, afforded matter of amazement to those who perceive moral distinctions, and are accustomed to observe and think consistently. A different standard of morals, another rule of right and wrong, seems by habit to be applied to those privileged tribes of the ancient world, than is acknowledged, theoretically at least, in regard to the modern ; so that sensuality, selfishness, injustice, rapacity, cruelty, and crime, are, in the first, not only passed over as of a different specific gravity from what they count for now-a-days, but are pressed upon the opening faculties as the constituents of moral grandeur and practical virtue ! This essential barbarism recoils dreadfully on society : Christianity itself is overborne by a spurious morality imbibed from the ancient authors, and society continues selfish, sensual, and belligerent. It is high time that truth were looked in the face, and the world disabused of this superstition, which has too long survived the popish ; when a higher moral education shall have taken the bandage from our eyes, it will cease to raise a shout of wonder and scorn to predicate that, morally viewed, the Greeks and Romans were barbarians from the first to the last hour of their history, and that in their own barbarism they were finally extinguished. It will tend to reconcile the reader to this apparently bold thesis, if it should chance to be new to him, to distinguish between the admitted civilization, and the essential barbarism of the ancients. These communities pass-

ed through many stages of social progress. The human *intellect* never developed itself more brilliantly. In no age or nation have men of more splendid talents appeared—more gifted statesmen, more lofty orators, more graphic historians, more ingenious philosophers, more consummate generals, more able lawyers, more sublime poets, more exquisite artists, and, considering the state of physical science, more skilful mechanics. Their cities were models of architectural grace and symmetry; their ways and aqueducts were stupendous; their temples, their theatres, their palaces, have no parallels in modern times. Elegance and luxury were carried to their very acmé among them. The Roman armies were the most tremendous engines of human power ever produced by human combination. The description given by Josephus, of the army which invaded Judea and destroyed Jerusalem, impresses us with the idea of the art-military improved to its *ne plus ultra* in discipline, tactic, promptitude, and co-operation, as if it had been one complicated, yet simply and irresistibly acting machine of iron and steel. We are accustomed to associate all that is graceful with Greece, and all that is powerful with Rome; we were early told that the world was refined by the one, and prostrated by the other; we were trained from boyhood almost to worship their books, and the very languages in which they are written; we are familiar with venerable institutions and vast endowments in our own island, for the study of these languages alone, while Greek and Roman wisdom, valour, patriotism, and virtue, have been to us as household words. It is time for us to try all this by another standard, and one which,

had we been educated on right principles, we would have applied long ago. The barbarism of the ancients may be summed up in a word,—CHRISTIAN MORALITY WAS UNKNOWN IN GREECE AND ROME. Mercy and justice did not form the foundation or the actuating principle of their institutions, their polity, or their private life. The virtue of their republics was mere self-exaltation, called patriotism, which was accompanied with gross injustice and cruelty to all other nations ; while a pampered appetite for military glory, and a systematic grasping ambition, produced almost perpetual war for conquest and plunder, with all the horrors and miseries of that worst form of crime. The Roman share in these wars, with a few exceptions of retributive invasions by the more powerful victims of their injustice, was exclusively aggressive. The nation, and every individual of which it was composed, either joined in, or heartily sympathised with, these grand outrages of moral principle. Hence war, bloodshed, pride, ambition, with an insatiable rapacity, formed the basis of the Roman character, actuated their policy, controlled their education, and constituted their very being. This is what is meant by Roman barbarism. It differed from the savage state only in the extended intellect and improved combinations which enlarged its range, and increased its power of evil. Poets sung its atrocities as the summit of human glory,—for there is no greater test of barbarism than blindness to its own features, and the mistake of its crimes for virtues ; orators lauded the deeds of blood and rapine, in which sometimes as soldiers they had borne a part, and listening senates hung upon their lips,

as they fed to fulness the coarsest appetites of national vanity and selfishness. Historians were ready, in their turn, to record in their imperishable pages, the proud crimes of their countrymen ; and philosophers systematised a spurious virtue out of the inferior impulses of human nature. Such was the actual national practice from the days of Romulus to those of Constantine. We do not find that even the sage philosophers themselves condemned, and we are left to suppose they countenanced and witnessed, the savage scenes of the amphitheatre, where Pompey slaughtered 500 lions, and Trajan 11,000 wild beasts, and 5000 gladiators, to glut the Roman delight in blood. Whole days were spent in these theatres by the citizens of all ranks, witnessing the combats of men and beasts with breathless interest, and feasting their eyes with torture and death. The custom continued to debase and brutalize the people for centuries. Certainly, there never existed on earth a more sanguinary race than the admired Romans. This thirst of blood, added to gross sensuality, and the corruption which arose out of and ministered to it, the falsehood and dishonesty which characterized public and private life, were barbarism in the midst of all the gorgeousness of physical, luxurious, and literary civilization. Morally, the Romans, and not less the Greeks, were uncivilized, and as the course of the selfish faculties which swayed them is downwards, they gradually sank and ultimately perished.

The talent bestowed on classical pursuits is sometimes such as would master the sciences and extend their range. The prize list of a great grammar-school often presents wonderful productions of difficulty and labour. The ef-

forts at College are still more herculean, and health and life are not seldom sacrificed in making them.

The grammar-school finished about fifteen, the acquisition of useful practical knowledge may even yet be made, though under great disadvantages. But the feast which Nature spreads is especially withheld from the devoted youth destined to the classical glories of College. Special, laborious, and expensive care is taken to exclude the chance of his picking up even stray knowledge, by engaging him engrossingly in pursuits which lead away from it. When finished at school, he is said to be "prepared for College," and it is the greatest boast of a grammar-school, that its pupils are well fitted for this advancement, and become renowned for bearing away the University honours. Now "College," in the sense alluded to, does not mean the attainment of physical and moral science, the knowledge of Creation as revealed in the works of God; it means more yet of the dead languages, more yet of these standards of science and morality, the Greeks and Romans; it means advancement in the "higher classics;" a greater elevation still above all vulgar studies which are to be of practical use in the attainment of good and the avoidance of evil in after life.* The school

* The term *higher* classics recalls a mode of reasoning adopted by scholars to silence the gainsayer on the score of his incompetency. They tell him he is out of his depth when he questions the supremacy of classical literature, it being the privilege of *few* to attain to a knowledge of its exquisite beauties and perfections. The first answer to this is, that there could not be a stronger reason for forthwith abandoning the custom of wasting, on such a pursuit, the time of the *many*; while the second is a challenge to point out any passage in any author, Greek or Latin, which, saving always a certain felicity of expression, may not be

keeps an eye upon its former alumni, and glories in their triumphs in the dead languages, in the rank they take at College, the *scholarships*, the fellowships they achieve. Nay, this is not all, the school preposterously claims to itself the credit of the whole future fame and fortune of its quondam pupil, the whole fruits of that education which he subsequently gave himself, and which the time he wasted within its walls only postponed ; while his Greek and Latin have not only contributed nothing to his advancement, but have been most probably almost entirely forgotten by him. There is no part of this solemn mockery of intellectual cultivation more tantalizing than the fact, that classical honours are borne away by efforts, not in the direct, but the inverse ratio of the value of the attainments rewarded. Ambition performs feats almost incredible ; it furnishes an impulse which makes light and pleasurable tasks which, without it, would be an intolerable grievance. The literary performances are often of great merit, and were they not *all*, were they an elegant surplusage to practical wisdom and useful knowledge, they would be so much gained, an additional grace well worth possessing. But when they *are* all the hard earnings of the noonday and the midnight, when the same time, talent, and labour, properly directed, would have rewarded the young student with an extent of knowledge, accomplishment, and resource, which few by their own efforts subsequently attain, we can only account for the dead languages continuing for another day to occupy so long exclusively the seat of education, by given in English, to all the effect it possesses of delighting or improving the thinking or feeling faculties of man.

reflecting that the men who suffer its continuance, were once boys, whom it at one and the same time cheated of sound knowledge, and entrenched in impregnable prejudice.*

If all this shall appear to be strongly stated, if it shall excite, as it will no doubt do, angry feelings in those attached to the classics by habit and by fame, and angrier still in those linked to them by interest, the writer has two grounds of deprecation ; First, he abjures all personal

* As these strictures will very probably be objected to, as referring to grammar schools as they were, and written in ignorance of the improvements now introduced into them, it was thought desirable to obtain some of the recent reports and prize lists which are statedly published by the more important of these seminaries, and all that I have seen, indicate as yet paramount the old subjects of study and competition. It is worthy of remark, too, that the improvements claimed, are neither more nor less than partial introductions of the very useful knowledge now advocated ; in other words, partial displacements of Greek and Latin. In the two great seminaries of Edinburgh, the High School and Academy, there is considerable improvement in this way ; but both establishments, put their scholarship foremost, in their appeal to the public. We find prizes for “ best Grecian, best Greek prose, best Greek verses, best Latin verses ; ” and themes written by boys of fourteen, when the faculties are unfit for the subjects, which it would task the powers of the ablest tacticians, politicians, and philosophers to deal with, such as “ Was the attack of Saguntum by Hannibal, and the invasion of Italy, justifiable on the reasons which he alleges ?—Which was the ablest general, Cæsar or Hannibal ?—On the progress and decline of commercial nations—Whether was Livy or Herodotus the most correct historian ?—On the progress of mankind from barbarism to civilization and refinement.—Whether is aristocracy or democracy ultimately more dangerous to public liberty ?—On the manners of the heroic ages,” &c. It will astonish a more rationally educated age than our own, that the most enlightened men of the second quarter of the nineteenth century were satisfied with *this* as the fruit of seven years labours in their sons ; well aware, at the same time, from their own experience, that the self-education, which is to fit for active life, has yet to begin after all the prizes for long and laborious scholastic trifling have been awarded, and all the applauses bestowed.

feeling in his strictures on a system of centuries. He knows the talent and the worth of many of its advocates and retainers ; to some of them he is closely bound by the ties of friendship and affection. He remembers, with almost filial respect, the venerable men, now no more, who were his kind and sincere instructors ; respects the existing generation of classical teachers ; and so far is he from wishing to affect their patrimonial status, that he would be the first to compensate them for the loss occasioned to them by the adoption of a system of education more in harmony with the age, and more consistent with the nature and faculties of man.

Secondly, the author claims the shelter from their displeasure of names, which they will certainly join him in venerating. MILTON has these words : “ Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasant and so unsuccessful. First, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully *in one year* * ; and that which casts our proficiency so much behind is, our time lost in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities, partly in a *preposterous exaction* from the empty wits of children, to compose *themes, verses, and orations*, which are the acts of ripest judgment.’ In another place, Milton says, “ Though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft this world into, yet, if he has not studied the *solid things* in them, as

* On saving time, and other matters, see Letter from Mr Cunningham, head master of the Edinburgh Institution for Languages, &c. App. No. IV.

well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother-dialect only."

LOCKE, on Education, says, "Would not a Chinese, who had notice of our way of breeding, be apt to imagine, that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own?" Again, the same author says (for he reprobates the practice in several passages): "But though the qualifications requisite to trade and commerce, and the business of the world, are seldom or never to be got at grammar-schools, yet thither not only gentlemen send their younger sons intended for trades, but even tradesmen and farmers fail not to send their children, though they have neither intention nor ability to make them scholars. If you ask them why they do this? they think it as strange a question, as if you should ask them why they go to church? Custom serves for reason, and has, to those that take it for reason, so consecrate this method, that it is almost religiously observed by them; and they stick to it, as if their children had scarce an orthodox education unless they learned Lilly's grammar." A passage follows on the subject of the special oblivion of Greek. "How many are there of a hundred, *even amongst scholars themselves*, who retain the Greek they carried from school, or ever improve it to a familiar reading and perfect understanding of Greek authors? *

* A singularly confirmatory letter from Dr Christison, present professor of Materia Medica in the University of Edinburgh, who obtained the highest honours for Greek, both at school and college, and nevertheless has nearly forgotten that tongue, was lately published in Mr Combe's "Lectures on Education."

GIBBON observes, that “a finished scholar may emerge from the head of Eton or Westminster, in total ignorance of the business and conversation of gentlemen, in the latter end of the eighteenth century.”

ADAM SMITH makes the remark, that “it seldom happens that a man, in any part of his life, derives any conveniency or advantage from some of the most laborious and troublesome parts of his education.”

BYRON, on the authority of his biographer MOORE, was a bad Greek and Latin scholar at Harrow; hated the drudgery they imposed upon him, and acquired his copious, flexible, and splendid style by extensive English reading.

It is necessary to repeat the qualification of the whole argument,—for nothing is more apt to be forgotten by the advocates of classical studies,—that not a word which has been said can even be perverted to mean absolute hostility to Latin and Greek, to the length of banishing them utterly from education as a pursuit. The study of them (but at a more advanced stage of education, and for a moderate portion of time, as advised by Milton) is necessary for the divine—who must add Hebrew—the lawyer and the physician. Nay, more; even the higher classics afford an object which will well reward the kind of genius which is fitted for the pursuit. What is contended for is, the rescue of our *entire* youth from the dead languages,—from the engrossing exclusiveness of that one object, during all the period when *real* knowledge is most naturally and beneficially attainable. It will at once occur to the reader, that this qualification is precisely that which is likely to be most unwelcome to the

teachers of the dead languages, whose emoluments depend upon the numbers of their pupils ; but this cannot affect the truth of the distinction.

Our scientific studies are unexceptionably provided for at College. In all the branches of natural history, chemistry, and mechanical philosophy, we have the means offered us of the highest attainments. Suppose us to have completely mastered all these branches of physical science, the question remains, What is our access to the SCIENCE OF MIND, or, more extensively, the science of MAN ? To physical man, there exist ample means of being introduced ; but anatomy and physiology are never dreamed of by any one not destined to the medical profession ; the most highly educated gentleman knows as little about his own bodily frame, or its relations to external nature, as the most uninformed of the manual-labour class, and is nearly as ignorant of the conditions of health, though, practically and by habit more than principle, cleaner in his person and dwelling. But it is in the philosophy of mind that our Universities present the grand blank *. Yet truth in this science must be arrived at before human affairs can be placed on a sound moral foundation. If it be undeniable, that the true guiding principle of human affairs can only be accordance of human affairs with human faculties, what must not be the extent of the evils which humanity suffers, when yet in ignorance or uncertainty as to the nature of these faculties ? Can we wonder at the confliction in speculation, and the confusion in action, which prevail around

* Professor Dugald Stewart's confession on this head has been already referred to.

us? Above all, what title have we to expect that education,—which is essentially the improvement of the human faculties, the guide to their right use, and the guard against that miserable abuse which far and wide embitters life,—can be either theoretically or practically understood, when no two philosophers are agreed as to what the faculties are; and few writers on education have thought of appealing to them, or considered it necessary to take them into account at all in their speculations. But this branch of the subject will be treated more at large in the next chapter; the utmost object of this and the preceding will have been attained, if they shall tend to open our eyes, not only to the desolate state of seven-eighths of our countrymen for lack of that knowledge which alone will enable them to co-operate in their own elevation, physical, moral, and intellectual, but not less to the imperfections of our own education, our ignorance of that imperfection, and, the natural result, our unfortunate apathy on the important subject.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE FACULTIES OF MAN, AND THEIR RELATIVE
OBJECTS.

Man the being to be educated—Knowledge of his nature required—
Training horses and dogs—Education, its three essentials—Human
body, improvement of—The senses—their objects—Faculties of
mind disputed—Modes mistaken for faculties—Admitted view of
man's nature—Shakspeare's and Scott's—Postulates to be conceded
—Physiological evidence not founded on—Experience—Nine animal
propensities—Self-Love—Desire of estimation—Fear—Inferior feel-
ings what—Law in the mind—Benevolence—Justice—Veneration—
Ethics—Christianity—Seven other moral sentiments—Intellect—
Knowing faculties—Reflecting—Language—Tabular view of facul-
ties—Possessed by all, but in different degrees—Innate and per-
manent—Combination—Degrees of rank in faculties—Supremacy of
Sentiments and Intellect illustrated—Mr Combe's original views.

IF the being to be educated is man, some knowledge of his nature would seem to be a requisite preliminary to his actual education. Treatises abound in which we are told that man ought to be trained according to his nature, in harmony with his faculties ; but, with a few recent exceptions, no educational writer has made an attempt which deserves the name of systematic, to inquire what that nature is, or those faculties are. The trainers of horses and dogs proceed much more philosophically ; they leave nothing to hazard, but study, with the utmost care, the distinguishing qualities of the animals, and apply the best treatment to those qualities. But any kind of training is held good enough for the human animal, and more-

over any kind of trainer who professes to undertake the office. When the principles which ought to regulate education are understood, this grievous error will be corrected. It will then be known, and the knowledge acted upon, that *education is a process calculated to qualify man to think, feel, and act, in a manner most productive of happiness.* It will be known that he has a certain constitution of body and mind, having certain definite relations to beings and things external to itself, and that in these relations are the conditions of his weal or woe. *Education will then be seen to have three essentials,—first, by early exercise to improve the powers and faculties, bodily and mental ;—secondly, to impart a knowledge of the nature and purposes of these powers and faculties ;—and, thirdly, to convey as extensive a knowledge as possible of the nature of external beings and things, and the relations of these to the human constitution.*

There is an education for the body, as well as the mind ; the body has bones, joints, muscles, tendons, all constructed in beautiful relation to the properties of matter, to the mechanical laws of force, resistance, gravitation, and equilibrium, and susceptible of improved adaptation by proper training. The skin is adapted to its purposes of insensible perspiration, regulation of heat, absorption, and other functions, and is likewise capable of increase of healthy action. The lungs, heart, and blood, and the air of the atmosphere, were created in pointed relation to each other, and disease and death are often the consequences of man's ignorance of this relation. The stomach and alimentary canal form a perfect chemical apparatus for digesting animal and vegetable matter,

with relation to whose properties they were formed, and for absorbing and assimilating the digested and wonderfully prepared material to the constant repair of the bodily waste, from the substance of a bone or fibre of a muscle, up to the exquisite texture of the eye, and the yet more mysterious essence of the nerves, the spinal marrow, and the brain. All these points of knowledge offer a fund of practical education; the vigour of the body may, by judicious habits and exercise, be increased, and life improved in comfort and happiness; while the havoc made by ignorance, and the sufferings of a shortened life by abuse of its functions, may be greatly diminished, if not prevented. That these bodily qualities form part of the constitution of man, is all to which it is necessary now to advert; the education which has relation to the body, and through the body to the mind,—which last owes much of its vigour and efficiency to the power of the muscles, the energy of the nerves, the regularity of the digestion, the purity of the blood, the soundness and sanity of the brain,—belongs to the next chapter.

The senses are an important object of education, as the media of man's communication with the material world: the exquisite adaptation of these to the known qualities of matter,—of the eye to the properties of light, the ear to those of sound, and so of the others, is too obvious and universally admitted, to require here to be dwelt upon.

It is far otherwise with the faculties of the mind. From the days of Plato downwards, no two philosophers have been agreed as to what they are, or in what they consist. How was it then possible to educate unknown

faculties, and where is the wonder that, when the attempt has been made, systems of education have been so various and contradictory? Nothing can form a more instructive proof of the non-practical character of the differing and contradicting analyses of the human mind which metaphysicians have severally propounded, than the failure of one and all of them to systematise education. The grand obstacle has been, that *modes of mental action* have, in various ways, been mistaken for primitive powers of mind; in other words, operations of mind, and not the specific operating energies, have been observed. Now it is manifest that operations, as such, are incapable of educational improvement, unless the operating powers be first improved; it is impossible to improve the act, without previously improving the actor; hence no progress has been made in the education of man according to his faculties, just because the acting powers, the faculties themselves, have not been ascertained, but their operations, or rather modes of operating, alone observed. Take for an example *Consciousness*, which is catalogued as a faculty by the most approved and popular philosophers of mind: yet it is not a faculty, but the operation of several faculties, acting sometimes separately, sometimes together. It were in vain for a teacher of youth to set about improving Consciousness; as a special act, or a succession of acts, it is incapable either of enlargement or restriction. As well might the arrow's flight be rendered more swift and certain, *after* it has left the bow. The arrow's flight is a mode or act; the impelling power is the elasticity of the bow, and the muscular vigour and skill of the archer. Both of these, es-

pecially the last, are capable of improvement. In like manner, the powers which produce Consciousness are the legitimate objects of education, and it will presently appear that it is not difficult to ascertain what these are. Again, an able female author on education* bestows some chapters on the importance of educating *Attention* as a faculty. But Attention is not a faculty more than Consciousness; it is the mode or act of many other faculties, which, in that act, direct themselves to their respective objects. Here too it were to pursue a shadow, to attempt to improve the mere act; the powers that act must be ascertained, and improvement sought in exercising those powers; and that very exercise implies the mode called Attention. The same may be said of such other alleged faculties, but mere modes of action, as Perception, Conception, Judgment, &c. Perception must have a percipient, a power which perceives; Conception a power which conceives, and Judgment a power or powers which judge.

The metaphysicians come nearer to positive primitive faculties in what they call the active powers, or affections. They acknowledge Benevolence, Hope, Conscience, Self-Love, Love of Fame, Love of Wealth, &c.; but although these are primitive impulses, capable of direct improvement or regulation by education, we know of no positive institutions for that momentous purpose, till Infant Schools were realized.

Now it is plain, that until an approximation shall be made to something like a practical analysis of the mind of man, until the faculties to be improved by education

* Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton.

are known, education must continue to be vague, misdirected, and inefficient, as it has hitherto been. If, as is evident, we can make no practical use of a great part of the catalogue of faculties which we studied at College, may we not meet upon some admitted common ground? May we not adopt those impulses or powers of mind, which directly constitute the view of man taken by necessity, although very unsystematically, in the common affairs of life; but by philosophers rejected, and therefore never reduced to any thing like system, and above all, never resorted to in education. Let any one think what are the tendencies or characteristics in his fellow men to which he traces their actions, and upon which he relies with the utmost confidence for certain expected results. Let us turn to our most successful pourtrayers of *nature*, a Shakspeare and a Scott, and observe what are their constituent characteristics of that nature, to which the same faculties in ourselves echo with such delighted sympathy. Assuredly these will not be found in the catalogues of the metaphysicians. I should be safe in conditioning, that I shall not need to claim for human nature any one impulse not recognised and dealt with—practically though not systematically—by Shakspeare and Scott. These are capable, we think, of a much more satisfactory analysis than might be supposed; an analysis which I only require to be granted to me, even for argument's sake, to obtain a basis for education which would advance its efficiency to a degree almost beyond our calculation. I feel so confident that all my postulates as to human powers, impulses, instincts, or faculties,—for we need not dispute about names,—will be con-

ceded to me, from the impossibility, as I humbly view it, of refusing the concession, that I am content to peril the whole argument, upon the admission by every educated person—First, that the impulses now to be enumerated form constituent parts of man ; and, Secondly, that, as is true of the physical structure and organic functions, each is related to some object or objects in nature, moral or physical, external to itself, but directly pointing to it, upon which it is exercised. I wish it, however, to be distinctly understood, that I do not found upon physiological evidence of the truth of the analysis of faculties which I am humbly to offer, because that evidence is not generally admitted ; I do not require to trace each faculty to a disputed cerebral origin ; the faculties shall be merely metaphysically submitted *seriatim* to the reader's judgment, and his own experience appealed to ; and any one which he does not recognise in man, I am quite contented that he shall reject. If, too, he does not think the relative object correctly added to each faculty as we advance, that too he is at perfect liberty to disallow.

1st, I do not fear denial, when I claim for man AN APPETITE FOR FOOD, an instinct which directs him, even when new-born, to remove the pain of hunger, the only pain then removable by an act of his own. Forming a variety or mode of the instinct of food, which last includes hunger and thirst, is the desire of the stimulus of alcohol in wine or some other shape. The abuses of these appetites are gluttony and drunkenness. That this instinct is primitive, is demonstrated by its being often manifested in a state of disease ; the insatiable craving of hunger, even when the stomach is full, is a common

lunatic symptom ; while the temptations of wine and ardent spirits often become altogether beyond the control of the will. The relative objects of that instinct are edible animal and vegetable matter ; while the juice of the grape, and other extracts capable of being fermented and distilled, gratify the taste for alcohol alluded to.

2*d*, For the preservation of his species, man is endowed with AN INSTINCT OF SEX. As the abuse of this impulse leads to much evil and suffering, individual and social, it requires much more educational watching and regulation than it ever receives. The consequence of this neglect to body and mind are often horrible. Its derangement is known in lunatic asylums, and detailed in works on insanity. Its object, relatively, is the other sex.

3*d*, Man has an IMPULSE TO CHERISH HIS OFFSPRING. There are cases in which this propensity has been morbidly excited. Its relative object is the helplessness and innocence of childhood ; the feeling and the object were intended for each other.

4*th*, A PROPENSITY OF ATTACHMENT to his fellow men, in the alliances of society and friendship, is a part of man's constitution. This feeling is so strong, that solitude has often produced mental alienation, as has the unmitigated silence of some penitentiaries.* Man's fellows exist in manifest relation to this social tendency.

5*th*, No impulse requires more the restraining hand of education than the PROPENSITY TO CONTEND AND FIGHT. We are made most aware of its being part of man, by seeing it in the various forms of its abuse, contentious-

* See Appendix No. I.

ness, contradiction, violence, assault, and war. But as no instinct or faculty was given for the purposes of abuse, we shall find the use of this propensity in self-defence, courage, enterprise, and general activity. This impulse has a marked relation to external objects ; it was given to man that he may repel the dangers which often assail him from other animals, and the passions of his fellow men.

6th, It is not enough that man shall contend and fight, it is often imperative upon him to destroy. Besides killing for food, he must, in self-defence, kill dangerous animals, and more dangerous men, that assail him : and to fit him for this, he has AN INSTINCT TO DESTROY. The feeling which prompts this extreme, with regard to his own species at least, is resentment, anger, and rage ; these are often abuses, and certainly so is a cruel delight in giving pain, and even depriving of life. In disease, it is the most dangerous form of madness ; it produces murder without motive, appetite for blood,* ungovernable violence, and indiscriminate destruction of every thing within its reach. Much short of disease it is a troublesome propensity ; cruelty to animals, and the tendency to deface and destroy, are its manifestations ; while the irascible tempers which disquiet the domestic circle, are its most ordinary form of abuse. It requires for its regulation, if not its repression, the firmest and the gentlest educational management. The impulse is widely spread in the animal creation ; it is the instinct of prey ; and teeth, tusks, beaks, and claws, are its instruments. It prompts man, too, to arm himself with

* See Appendix No. II. on Homicidal Monomania.

destructive weapons, from the rude club to the battery of cannon. *Lastly*, it constitutes the impulse to punish, to inflict pain, torture, and death.

7th, In nothing will the observant instructor of youth perceive more diversity among individuals, than in the characteristics of reserve or openness. Some individuals are so close, that nothing can be extracted from them ; others apparently conceal nothing. The truth is, that all conceal much more than they declare, and an IMPULSE TO CONCEAL is a constituent part of man, for the wise purpose of preventing that constant exposure of thought and purpose, which would not only render society intolerable, but would remove a material guard against the evils which, by their selfish passions, men are inclined to inflict upon each other. The right use of the impulse to conceal is a prudent reserve ; its abuse is cunning, duplicity and deceit. Those who are conversant with the insane, are too well aware how often a morbid habitual cunning calls for increased vigilance. The related objects of the faculty are the other faculties whose outward manifestations it restrains : the perfection of what is called *acting*, in both a favourable and unfavourable sense, depends partly on the energy of this power : some children are consummate actors, and thereby greatly perplex their teachers, who are ignorant of the spring and origin of that character. Several animals are strongly characterised by this instinct, for example, the fox, cat, tiger, and all that steal upon their prey ; not less are those who use deceptions to escape their enemies, as the hare, &c.

8th, Man has A DESIRE TO POSSESS the material things

that contribute to his well-being, and loves to accumulate them in exclusive property. When the advantages to society of this accumulation are reflected upon, it is evident that what is called *capital*, is an institution of nature, confined to man as to indefinite accumulation, though observed in bees, beavers, and some other animals as to annual store. It is only necessary to think what would be the condition of social man if he lived, like most animals, on the chance of each day, to be convinced of the connexion between accumulation and social power and enjoyment. The use of the faculty to each individual, is the attainment of the means of regular subsistence for a family, and the benefit of inheritance: its abuse is avarice; its grosser abuse theft: its disease every one has heard of or witnessed in an impulse, not created by necessity, but beyond the will's control, to appropriate things of value, and, in the worst cases, whether of value or not. The related objects of the propensity, are material things which afford enjoyment in some way to the faculties, and money their sign and convertible value. The regulation of this propensity ought to be an important object of attention in education.

9th, Independently of his reason, man has an IMPULSE TO CONSTRUCT, to change the forms and combinations of matter into instruments and accommodations. Franklin called him a "tool-making animal." The faculty is often possessed in uncommon power by cretins and other idiots without an atom of intellect to guide it. Reason and imagination greatly aid the faculty in man, as is evident when we compare the wigwam with the palace. Individuals differ greatly in this primitive power; some

can make whatever they see, others cannot fold a letter neatly. The relative objects of the impulse are manifest in the material world. This power the judicious instructor will recognise and call forth in his pupil.

It must have occurred to the reader, that in the inferior animals are found *all* the nine propensities now described, for they are well nigh essential to animal existence. On this ground I ask leave to distinguish them as a class, and refer to them in the sequel, by the name of the ANIMAL PROPENSITIES. Before leaving this class of faculties, it seems the best time to appeal to the reader's experience if it be not truth, and press the fact on the attention of the educationist, that vice and crime, in all their phases and varieties, are but other terms for the abuse of one or more of these specified impulses. The enumeration of a few will sufficiently illustrate this, every one can apply each instance to the impulse abused, for they are set down in the order adopted—namely, gluttony, drunkenness, incontinence, contention, violence, cruelty, murder, robbery, fraud, theft, &c.

10th, Scarcely anticipating the possibility of the rejection of any of the nine impulses already submitted, I would next, with not less confidence, claim for the man we are compounding, a sentiment of SELF-LOVE, in which is included as well self-elevation as self-preference. In due and beneficial endowment, it is a legitimate attention to our own well-being; it is self-respect, independence, and confidence in our own powers and capacities. In abuse, it is pride, self-sufficiency, disdain, insolence, love of power, tyranny, and general selfishness. It is a great exciting cause of the activity of the impulse to resent-

ment and rage, and then it takes the deeper colour of revenge ; and, when combined with the impulse to appropriate, it renders that propensity yet more steady, grasping, and exclusive. It is the special faculty of quarrels and duels, and forms the ingredient of turbulence and tyranny, which is a nuisance in public, and a curse in private life. No faculty of man is more apt to run into abuse, and half the moral evils of man's lot spring from that abuse. The guide of youth cannot, therefore, too early begin to watch and repress its unamiable manifestations, and regulate its legitimate exercise. Under the present system of education, this important part of man is left to its own guidance. Need it be added, that it is often manifested in a form of insanity not to be mistaken ; the morbid self-exaltation accounts for the straw crowns and wooden sceptres of Bedlam. The related objects of the feeling are obviously self and its concerns.

11th, Another sentiment, often but improperly confounded with self-love, exercises a mighty influence over man, and furnishes the key to much of the pursuit of his life ; and that is, DESIRE of ESTIMATION. By the one, a man esteems himself ; by the other, he courts the esteem of others. They are best distinguished in their abuse. The one is pride, the other vanity : the one assumes, the other begs ; hence it is truly remarked, that an individual is too proud to be vain. The use of the sentiment now considered, as intended by the All-Wise who endowed man with it, is a proper regard to character, the feeling of shame, and, under proper regulation, the incitement to worthy conduct in the love of praise. The feeling shrinks

from reproach, censure, ridicule, and exposure. It leads to a careful concealment of vices, follies, and weaknesses, and, better yet, often to their cure. The laws which enact disgraceful punishments, as pillory, address it directly. It is essentially the love of glory, and, in combination with self-exaltation, it constitutes ambition. Finally, it often runs into disease, of which any one who has visited a large lunatic asylum must have been rather annoyingly made aware, by the eager competition of the *vain* patients to detail and display to him their merits, each at the same time pitying his neighbour for his vain-glory. What, it may be asked, has education ever done to regulate this and the previous powerful and all-pervading feeling? The answer is,—Nothing! On the contrary, it has carefully *instituted* the means of aggravating the evils of both, by all the competitions, prizes, preferences, and “honours” of our schools and colleges. The related object of this feeling is found in the tendency of mankind to observe and judge each other.

12th, That a SENTIMENT OF FEAR is a part of man, no one will deny, and least of all the teacher of the old school, whose ever-brandished rod and cane make a personal appeal to the feeling. The sentiment is given as a self-protector from dangers, physical and moral, with which we are surrounded. Its abuse is cowardice, terror, and panic. The example of punishment implies our belief of its power as a motive. Its external objects are danger and evil in general. When diseased, it occasions the groundless fears and horrors of hypochondria, and is essentially that insane melancholy which furnishes the impulse to suicide, by sufferings far more intense than man

is ever visited with in what is erroneously distinguished as reality.

The last and two preceding sentiments of self-love, and desire of estimation, evidently regard *self*; and, therefore, although very important constituent faculties in man, and intended, in their proper use, for the wisest ends, have nothing in them amiable or exalted. They are as self-seeking as any of the nine animal propensities, and therefore may conveniently be classed with these, under the general denomination of the INFERIOR FEELINGS, to which, in the sequel of this work, it will often be necessary to allude. The whole twelve instincts make up and constitute the Scriptural entity of the “law in the members warring against the law in the mind.”

13th, That there *is* a law in the mind, is beautifully implied in the very distinction of Scripture alluded to; and it is the object of education, while it represses and regulates the law in the members, to strengthen and confirm the law in the mind. The first element of the law in the mind is BENEVOLENCE,—the benign parent of a catalogue of graces, in kindness, desire of the good of others, generosity, compassion, mercy, and all the sympathies of brotherly love. It is the charity which “suffereth long and is kind,” which “is gentle and easy to be entreated,” and which, in its expansiveness and sincerity, “is without partiality and without hypocrisy.” It is impossible to conceive a description of benevolence more just, as well as beautiful, than the Scriptural. Sentient beings, generally, are the related objects of this exalted sentiment, and its scope and delight is their happiness. It is an error to suppose its function confined to compassion and relief

to distress and misery. It goes much beyond this : it is a well-spring of good-will to men, and reaps positive delight from the increase and extension of human happiness. Its manifestations appear to the selfish to be mere sentimental enthusiasm, or weak sacrifice of substance and ease ; yet *their* most exclusive joys are vapid, in comparison with the delights of benevolence. Truly, as well as poetically,—

“ it is twice blessed.

It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.

'Tis mightiest in the mightiest, and becomes

The throned monarch better than his crown.”

It is rewarded with the love of our fellow-men ; for to be generally “ *liked*,” as it is termed, is the necessary effect of being benevolent ; and this popularity is not confined to those who benefit by its generous acts, but is universal. The field of benevolence is boundless, for it embraces all that can aid or advance human happiness, physical and moral. It desires to see man free, enlightened, morally and religiously elevated, and placed in physical comfort and safety. It descends also to kindness to the lower animals.

Even this high sentiment is capable of abuse. This appears in facility, indiscriminate alms-giving, and profusion. In disease, it is beyond the power of the will of the individual, to whom, therefore, the law appoints a guardian.

14th, A sentiment of JUSTICE or conscientiousness belongs to man ; it respects the rights of others, and is also manifested in truth and candour. Its deficiency is a great defect of character, unamended even by benevolence. The individual so endowed is apt to be generous before

he is just, according to an every-day expression. It is a mistake to recognise a defective conscientiousness in that palpable dishonesty only which calls for the interference of the law. It is a wide-spreading evil in society, far short of that degree of its manifestation. It shews itself in a way and manner against which the law cannot make provision, in the great variety of modes in which men, for selfish ends, are *unfair* to each other, by taking advantages which they would not give ; concealing the truth which ought to be told, or misleading with regard to it ; disallowing others' claims, not capable of easy proof ; shrouding others' merit ; misstating or distorting others' argument ; resenting fair competition ; envying success ; manifesting a selfish jealousy ; indulging in evil-speaking and ridicule ; and, in a thousand ways, " doing to others that which we would *not* they should do to us." The severest satire on mankind is really found in the distinction conceded to the fair, open, candid, and considerate character, to the Aristides of his circle, who is marked for his whiteness (the etymology of candour), in the midst of the various shades of discoloration in his fellows, with which he is surrounded. There is not a more delicate task for the infant-teacher—for the training must be early—than the exercise of the sentiment of justice and truth, not merely in its broad lines, but in its minutest shadowings. The disease of the feeling, for even conscientiousness may be over-excited, is observed in the melancholy self-accusatory ravings of some maniacs, especially in those too numerous cases in which religious terrors have driven reason from its seat. The related objects of the sentiment of justice are the rights and feel-

ings of our fellow-men. It acknowledges the justice of God.

15th, The most superficial observer of man cannot have failed to feel in himself, and observe the signs in others, of a sentiment of VENERATION, a feeling of deference, submission, and reverence. These terms are used by us every instant of our converse with those we feel to be our superiors in intellect or conventional rank, as something that is their due; and the whole strength of the feeling can be testified by those whom it has deprived of utterance when suddenly brought into the presence of majesty. Yet the trembler in the king's presence is not unnerved by fear, for his reason assures him that he is in no personal danger; but "the divinity that doth hedge a king,"—Shakspeare's graphic description of the feeling of homage to real or supposed superiority, which is a faculty or sentiment in man,—is the true cause that

"When the king doth look, the subject quakes."

But there is a higher related object of this feeling than earthly kings. The King of kings is its great end and object: it is then veneration, and constitutes the chief ingredient in the adoration of religious worship. A large natural endowment of the sentiment often carries mere external sanctity to excess, and, mistaking it for religion, claims, and often receives, consideration and homage for it, to the inconvenient crowding of the calendar. The feeling also runs into monomania. The author once saw a young man in Bethlem Hospital in St George's Fields, who dropt on his knees whenever a stranger appeared, raised his eyes, united the palms of his hands, and remained in that devotional attitude for some time, with-

out uttering a word. The misdirection of this feeling, either towards the Deity or our fellow-men, is attended with so much evil, that its proper guidance and exercise ought to form, what it never yet has formed, an object of the most attentive and enlightened educational care.

The three feelings of *benevolence*, *justice*, and *veneration*, predominating over the inferior and selfish propensities, present us at once with an intelligible system of ethics. This is that supremacy of the moral sentiments which is partially admitted by ethical writers, from Butler to Chalmers; the latter, in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, constitutes conscience the sole ruler; but benevolence is not less offended by vice and crime than justice; while veneration is shocked with the daring disobedience to God's will which these aberrations involve. The three sentiments of justice, benevolence, and veneration, are powerfully combined in that preceptive keystone of Christianity, "to do justly, to love mercy, and walk humbly with your God." The humility so beautifully glanced at is that repression of self-exaltation, (the tenth impulse I have treated of,) which the instructor should never lose sight of; remembering that "pride was not made for man;" self-love was intended for him, but not its abuse, "which bringeth a snare." The energy of these three feelings, acting as they always do in combination, constitutes the moral impossibility of committing crime; for a man in whom they are supreme, is restrained from criminal acts more effectually than if fetters of triple brass were on his hands. If there be means,—and it will appear in the sequel that there *are* beautifully simple and effectual means,—of increasing the power of these inva-

luable sentiments, by the exercise of practical moral training, does it not vitally concern society to apply them? I shall offer a few words more on the supremacy of the higher feelings, after treating of the Intellect.

16th, I claim no more for man than almost all metaphysicians do, and all the non-metaphysical world, in attributing to him a sentiment of HOPE, the source of much worldly happiness, and the *natural* foundation of our prospects of a life to come. Hope is a chief ingredient in religious feeling; while, in common life, it is not confined to expectations and anticipations of the future, but is a permanent gaiety, lightness of heart, and buoyancy of spirits, which is contented with the present, dreads no evil, and constitutes in itself real happiness. Children, as well as adults, differ widely in this character of mind; an enlightened teacher of youth will convert the feeling to useful purposes.

17th, The teacher will find his pupils to differ in another respect: he will meet with some of them pliant and obedient, and others obstinate and impracticable; there is, in different degrees, in man, a sentiment of FIRMNESS, the use of which is perseverance and fortitude, the abuse of which is obstinacy. It is of importance that this should be recognised in education as an innate feeling, by which much labour to the teacher, and suffering to the young, might be prevented by avoiding vain contests with obstinacy, persevered in by the teacher in the expectation of curing the defect, while he is only strengthening the feeling, and confirming the habit. The struggle with an obstinate child, who is further fortified by pride and self-sufficiency, may be compared to an attempt to extract a

nail by striking it on the head, every stroke only drives it faster. The judicious teacher will take care never to bring the matter to that issue, but will address himself to other faculties, especially justice, benevolence, and reflection; keeping in mind the fable, that the storm could not induce the traveller to part with his cloak, which he only held the faster, but the sun was more successful.

18th, Man loves the wonderful. That the sentiment of WONDER is innate, will scarcely be doubted by any one who observes its power as a motive, and the fortunes that are made by appeals to it. Well does the charlatan know the effect produced by his cry of “wonder!” It is evidently bestowed as a source of delight in contemplating the wonders of creation, and as an impulse to enquiry. With veneration and hope, it constitutes the religious combination of faculties; I mean what is called religious *feeling*, for conscience and reflection are the bases of religious *duty*. The joint operation, in due proportion, of the two sets of faculties, makes up the perfection, humanly speaking, of the religious character; while a separation of them is always more or less to be regretted. Take away or impair reflection, and the remaining feelings will be apt to run into enthusiasm, and even fanaticism; take away or diminish conscience, and we have the apparent anomaly of sanctity without honesty, of religious excitement with much unfairness, censoriousness, intolerance, and persecution. Wonder is met with in morbid activity; its madness sees visions, and dreams dreams, nay, attempts miracles; in combination with a high estimate of self, it constitutes the prophet of special revelation, and the angel of light admitted to the

counsels of heaven. Of this we have not to go far for examples,—the leaders and their followers are all over-excited *wonderers*. Education is called upon to watch this faculty ; it will shew itself in a child in a tendency to exaggerate and embellish, a marked delight to surprise and occasion wonder, with often an utter sacrifice of truth to attain that end.

19th, I do not anticipate objection to a faculty for the sublime, the beautiful, the elegant, the perfect, the poetical, as a constituent of the mind of man. The Imagination of the metaphysicians comes nearest this sentiment, but it does not express it. Imagination is considered as a power which produces ideal creations ;—the feeling in question is a mere sentiment or habit of mind which aspires to the beautiful and perfect, and communicates an elegant refinement to the whole character ; it prompts other faculties to create, while itself merely feels, and views all nature with associations of beauty and of poetry. Its abuse is romantic enthusiasm, unguided by reflection. Its related objects are all that is beautiful and sublime in nature ; it is one of the gifts of Divine Benevolence which points directly at high enjoyment ; like music it is something superadded to the necessary faculties. When it is absent or deficient, the individual is gross and unrefined. Infant education takes much care of this feeling, and in various ingenious ways calls it into exercise, with different success, according to the degree of natural endowment ; for in nothing do individuals differ from each more. With the explanation now given, I shall call this faculty IMAGINATION.

20th, THE LOVE OF THE LUDICROUS requires a judi-

cious educational management. Man is the only laughing animal, the only one gifted with a specific enjoyment from the contemplation of incongruity. It is greatly abused in satire, tricks, and mischief, and requires watching: it operates severely on many tempers who are made its butts, and often withers every purpose of exertion or improvement. Certainly it has been greatly neglected in education. Its relative objects are found in the exhaustless field of incongruity.

21st, IMITATION is a marked faculty in man, which shews itself even in the youngest children. Its purpose is manifestly to bring society to a convenient uniformity of manners, without which it would present a scene of inextricable contrariety, and to aid in educing the powers of the young, by the energy of an impulse to do what they see done by their seniors. It aids, as is most obvious, the imitative arts; and has for its related objects no narrower field than universal nature.

The reader is requested to glance back at the faculties just treated of, beginning with 13 and ending with 21, which, like the animal propensities, happen to be *nine* in number, and oblige the author, by recollecting that, whenever he speaks of the MORAL SENTIMENTS, he means these nine faculties. The reader will at once observe that Nos. 10, 11, and 12, viz. Self-Love, Desire of Estimation, and Fear, are not of dignity sufficient to be classed with the moral sentiments; but, being as selfish in their nature as the nine animal propensities, and being also plainly discernible in the inferior animals, they are classed with the propensities under the general name of the INFERIOR FEELINGS; it follows that the moral sentiments

are meant, when the term superior or HIGHER FEELINGS is used. These last distinguish man on this earth, from all the creatures of God.

But the “ Law in the Mind” would be an imperfect regulator of the “ Law in the Members,” if it consisted even of the moral sentiments alone. Sentiments are but feelings, and feelings, however virtuous, are blind, and depend upon intellect for their proper direction. For example, benevolence prompts us to succour poverty; but that feeling makes no inquiry into the cause of that poverty which it profusely relieves. It therefore requires to be itself directed by another class of faculties, namely the intellectual, which, observing, perceiving, knowing, and reasoning, can ascertain, if so it be, that the poverty is the result of idle and profligate habits, that the poor man is perfectly able-bodied and fit for labour, and that therefore the benevolence is wasted, and worse, upon the encouragement of an unworthy object. Man is endowed with intellectual faculties, and these may be divided into the KNOWING and REFLECTING. It is undeniable that, intellectually, we *know* and we *reflect*. It is a common observation that knowledge is not wisdom, till it is compared and reasoned on by reflection. It is its combination with reflection, which constitutes that knowledge which is power. The weakest reflecting powers often co-exist in the same individual, with a store of knowledge which excites our wonder. A walking encyclopædia is a title currently given to a person who knows every thing, while his reasoning powers are nevertheless of the humblest order. Nothing proves more demonstrably than this, that knowing and reasoning are distinct powers of mind.

The KNOWING POWERS cognize two classes of objects ; namely *existences* and *events*, in other words, things that *are*, and things that *happen*. Let any one reflect for a moment, and he will find that whatever he knows, must be either an existence or an event. The paper on which I write is an existence—a thing that is ; if I drop it on the carpet, it is an event, a thing that has happened, a change has taken place : soldiers are existences, their battle is an event ; the acid and the alkali are existences, their effervescence on mixture is an event. Natural history concerns existences, civil history records events. Now, from observing that the power of perceiving and remembering these two classes of objects, respectively, varies in a marked degree in different individuals, we may consider them as distinct faculties, which will require in education a separate range of study and exercise, the one improving the faculty for existences, the other the faculty for events. I claim then, for man,—

22*d*, A POWER TO COGNIZE AND REMEMBER EXISTENCES.

23*d*, A POWER TO COGNIZE AND REMEMBER EVENTS.

It is obvious that, to a great degree, man enjoys these faculties in common with the inferior animals, which last could not exist without a considerable degree of perception and memory, both of things that are and things that happen. These two faculties are most active in childhood and youth, possess a keen appetite for knowledge, and reap so much delight from its attainment, that an instructor, himself well endowed with knowledge, and distinguished by a lively and exciting manner of communication, who can keep alive wonder, and put into his lessons a fine admixture of the *higher feel-*

ings, will possess a power over his pupil's will and happiness, which will form, and it is already known to form, a striking contrast to the heart-withering irksomeness of the old schools, in which an antiquated and most hurtful system of appeal to the inferior feelings of fear, self-exaltation, vanity, and covetousness, is found necessary to stimulate the languid faculties. The knowing faculties are capable of great educational improvement, and, by judicious exercise, often arrive at such a degree of comprehension, minuteness, and accuracy, called cleverness and acumen, as to give great practical power in life, and to lead to discovery and invention which extend indefinitely the range of human attainment. We can now understand the mode of activity called *attention*; it is the *tension* or active employment of the knowing faculties when in act of *observation*. The young must be called upon to observe, and that extensively and minutely: the educated know well how little was done for them in this exercise, when they were engaged exclusively in reading books, and dreamingly passing over the whole of existing things, though before their very eyes. In the lower classes of the people, observation remains utterly dormant, and much of the suffering of their condition is the consequence. The related objects of these two knowing powers are Creation and Creation's changes; their scope is unbounded.

There are other knowing faculties, of marked distinction in the different degrees of manifestation by different individuals, which aid in the acquisition of knowledge; such as a perceptive power for each quality of matter, as its form, size, colour, gravitation, sound, &c.

and on these the talents of drawing, painting, sculpture, mechanics, and music depend. But these manifestations, must be so obvious to the enlightened and judicious educationist, that I shall not occupy time and space with a detail of them.

The REFLECTING POWERS suffer a twofold division, like the knowing, and we find individuals manifesting these powers differently, according to that division. The reflecting make use of the materials stored by the knowing faculties, for the purpose of performing the operation of REASONING,—that consists in comparing two existences or two events, and concluding that something else exists, existed, or will or may exist, or that something else happens, happened, or will or may happen, in consequence ; in which range is comprehended all the TRUTHS of the physical and moral world.

24th, The process of reasoning, of conclusion drawing, is sometimes performed by a simple act of comparison, or perception of analogy : a vast majority of mankind reason in this way ; such a truth follows from the resemblance of two truths which they have compared. The whole of the brilliant field of what in reasoning is called *illustration* is nothing more than this process of comparison ; and, as many writers and speakers, and these like Dr Chalmers by far the most popular, manifest almost an exclusive preference for analogical and illustrative reasoning, I feel that I am warranted in distinguishing in man, the reflecting faculty of COMPARISON.

25th, Some reasoners, but comparatively few, are more severe, and are contented with no conclusions which do

not stand in the relation of *necessary consequence* to their premises. This is truth, they reason, because it is deducible necessarily from the consideration of these other known truths brought together. These are the logicians, who distrust analogy and comparison. The faculty they use is the highest intellectual power, the percipient of the relation of cause and effect, which I beg to be indulged in designating by the name of THE FACULTY OF NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES. When the distinct operation of the two mentioned faculties is understood by the instructor of youth, the different lines of talent will be obvious to him, and the educational training will be made to correspond.

It is a metaphysical error to distinguish *Memory* as a primitive faculty, seeing that the cognising and reasoning powers must necessarily be the remembering powers; remembrance being nothing else but the continued impression of cognition and reasoning, varying according to the energy of those powers. If memory were a distinctive power, it would, in each individual, be alike strong, and regard *all* subjects of recollection alike. But as this is not consistent with fact, as one individual remembers existences, and another forgets existences and remembers events, while a third recalls with ease a train of reasoning, another musical airs, and another the faces of persons he has seen, or the scenes he has surveyed, each perhaps weakly remembering something else of the matters now enumerated, we are forced to the conclusion, that there is no general faculty called memory, but that each faculty has its own power of recalling its impressions. The instructor of youth should ponder this truth well, and he will save himself and his pupil much

time and labour in indefinite and desultory exercise of a supposed general faculty of memory, when in truth he will actually improve the memory of each faculty in the proper direct cultivation of the faculty itself.

The reader is, it is trusted, now in a condition to see the propriety of disallowing *Perception* as a primitive faculty. Both the knowing and reflective *percipient* powers have now been explained and distinguished : the faculty of existences perceives existences, that of events events ; that of comparison, resemblances ; that of necessary consequence, cause and effect ; so that a general faculty of perception is necessarily a nonentity.

Last of all, I claim for man, whose composition we have now finished, the man-distinguishing faculty of LANGUAGE, whereby he converts his thoughts into the conventional signs called words, and, in oral and written discourse, excites the faculties of his fellow men in the boundless extent of social intercourse. Language is a mighty instrument, but great evil follows the error of mistaking it for more.

Once more, before proceeding farther, the reader is requested to subject the foregoing analysis to the strictest scrutiny. He is not asked to surrender the catalogue of faculties which may be dear to him as associated with the venerable name of Alma Mater ; he is welcome to reserve that for the amusement of his metaphysical hours ; all that is now asked is, that he will admit, or at least not deny, that the feelings, impulses, or faculties, just submitted to his consideration, have been recognised by him in that being called Man. Many pages might be filled for his aid, from Shakspeare, “ the Priest of Nature,”

and Scott, his kindred genius, to whom I have already referred; but as this would lead to lengthen a chapter already long, I have thought it prudent to withdraw what I had prepared for the press on this subject.

The whole faculties which have been described, are now brought under the reader's eye in a table for the convenience of reference :—

INFERIOR FEELINGS.

ANIMAL PROPENSITIES.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Propensity of <i>Food</i> . | Propensity to <i>Conceal</i> . |
| <i>Sex</i> . | <i>Acquire</i> . |
| <i>Offspring</i> . | <i>Construct</i> . |
| <i>Attachment</i> . | Sentiment of <i>Self-Love</i> . |
| to <i>Fight</i> . | <i>Desire of Estimation</i> . |
| <i>Destroy</i> . | <i>Fear</i> . |

HIGHER FEELINGS.

MORAL SENTIMENTS.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Sentiment of <i>Benevolence</i> . | Sentiment of <i>Wonder</i> . |
| <i>Justice</i> . | <i>Imagination</i> . |
| <i>Veneration</i> . | <i>The Ludicrous</i> . |
| <i>Hope</i> . | <i>Imitation</i> . |
| <i>Firmness</i> . | |

INTELLECT.

KNOWING FACULTIES.

Cognition of existences.
 *events.*
Percipients of Form, Colour,
Sound, &c.

REFLECTING FACULTIES.

Comparison.
Necessary Consequence.
 LANGUAGE.

Several general points require a moment's attention.

1. All the faculties in the preceding table belong to every sane individual of the human race; the want of any of them would be the imperfection of partial idiocy.

2. They are possessed in very different degrees of endowment in different individuals. It is this difference which constitutes the endless varieties in the characters of men. Taking the faculties in groups, it is evident that individuals in whom the inferior feelings predominate, will be coarse, sensual, and animal; while those in whom the higher feelings are the strongest, will be moral and refined. In each individual, some faculty, or combination of faculties, is always so powerful as to mark the character; and observation and discussion of these characterizing peculiarities, in each other, is half the business of human intercourse. Any one could, on a very short notice, furnish a catalogue of the characteristics of his acquaintances, and that according to the order of the foregoing table. A, he would say, is a perfect gourmand; B is abstemious and sober; C cannot bear children; D should hire himself for a nursery-maid; E is argumentative, contentious, violent, and passionate, F is as gentle and forbearing as a lamb; G is reserved, cunning, and artful, H is open as the day; I is avaricious and miserly; K is proud; L is vain; M is a coward; N is humble and diffident, and shrinks from notice; O is benevolent; but P is generous and almost profuse; while R is cold-hearted; S is just and true; T is ignorant; U is an encyclopædia; V is profound and logical; W cannot put two ideas together, and draw a conclusion from their comparison; X has a turn for the fine arts; Y excels in mechanics; Z has a gift of language, so copious and fluent,

that his thoughts form themselves into words with the precision and beauty of a crystallization.

3. It must occur to the reader, and he is requested to remember it as a fundamental truth, that these characteristics of individuals arise from *innate* faculties, which are *permanent*, and, however improveable, not liable to be eradicated. The faculties modify each other, but the *general* character is fixed. The irascible man of to-day was so twenty years ago; so was the selfish,—though higher feelings cultivated render the *conduct* of the one milder and of the other more liberal.

4. Another point is to be kept in mind by the reader, namely, that the human faculties are capable of acting in *combination* with each other, at least of *simultaneous activity*; the effect of which will be an increased tendency to a common end when the faculties acting are in harmony; or a modification of power, so that the balance in favour of the strongest will be the remaining force, when they antagonize each other. This is the state of what is called mixed motives, which scarcely needs illustration. In a *public* subscription for a charity, for example, Benevolence prompts to give, and often much more strongly does vanity; but their united operation manifestly strengthens the impulse; self-love and avarice would save the money. Now, it is perfectly obvious, that it will be given or withheld, according as one combination or the other prevails. Other examples might be supplied, but they can be easily figured. It is plain that what is called individual character must essentially be the product of a sort of balance of power among all the faculties; the strongest will stand out most prominent,

as “ the ruling passion,” modified by others, and therefore only presenting itself as a remainder. Thus a man has a powerful impulse of courage, and a thirst for glory, which would urge him on “ to seek the bubble reputation even in the cannon’s mouth ;” but he is also endowed with a cautious fear of wounds and death, the result of whose operation will be a certain deduction from his rash gallantry, and a practical feeling that “ the better part of valour is discretion.” He is still a man for the cannon’s mouth, but he will never go there but when influenced by a prudent sense of duty. It is needless to push so obvious an inquiry farther. It must be manifest that education should address itself pointedly to these combinations.

5. The last general observation which requires to be made is one which will at once be admitted, namely, that there are degrees of value and rank in the faculties of man. It is a law of our nature to look upon the moral sentiments with more respect than the animal propensities ; while the profound powers of reflection and reasoning are more elevated than the acutest faculties of observation. When superiority involves control, it is called supremacy ; this control is exercised by the moral faculties, guided by the intellect, which is another word for ethics. I was pledged to return to this important subject when I had explained the Intellect, for the control is properly called the SUPREMACY OF THE MORAL SENTIMENTS AND INTELLECT.

No writer has thrown so much light upon this important subject, as Mr Combe, in his “ Constitution of Man,” already referred to. He says, (p. 39.) “ Every faculty

stands in a definite relation to certain external objects ; when it is internally active it desires these objects ; when they are presented to it, they excite it to activity, and delight it with agreeable emotions. Human happiness and misery are resolvable into the gratification or denial of one or more of our active faculties, before described, of the external senses, and the feelings connected with our bodily frame. The faculties in themselves are mere instincts ; the moral sentiments and intellect are higher instincts than the animal propensities. Every faculty is good in itself, but all are liable to abuse ; their manifestations are right only when directed by *enlightened* intellect and moral sentiment. In maintaining the *supremacy* of the moral sentiments and intellect, I do not consider them sufficient to direct conduct by their mere instinctive suggestions. To fit them to discharge this important duty, *they must be illuminated by knowledge of science and of moral and religious duty* ; but wherever their dictates, thus enlightened, oppose the solicitations of the propensities, the latter must yield, otherwise, by the constitution of external nature, evil will inevitably ensue. This is what I mean by nature being constituted in harmony with the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect."

I am not acquainted with any thing more delightfully instructive than the twenty-four pages which follow the extract just given. In these Mr Combe illustrates the principle of the regulating power of the moral sentiments and intellect, by shewing its application to several of the most important affairs of life ; for example, the principle, if acted on, would prevent the domestic propensities from blindly allying themselves, in

marriage with an unworthy object. It would prevent the formation of rash friendships, which, founded on fashion, or any other form of selfishness, have no solid foundation, and end, if fortune changes, in mutual reproaches and charges of insincerity. The contrast of the heyday of Sheridan's reputation, which surrounded him with friends who vainly boasted of his acquaintance, and the closing scene of his deserted deathbed, is given as an example. Again, the principle, if it did not prevent their formation, would at least show that there is no cause for wonder when partnerships, entered into for mutual gain, fall to pieces in consequence of bad success, or some other excitement of selfishness. After several other examples of false and baseless reliance on the inferior feelings, Mr Combe points out the delight and permanence of alliances and connexions formed under the guidance of the higher feelings and the intellect, in which not only these are delighted after their own pure and exalted nature, but the inferior feelings themselves are gratified in their proper and legitimate way, so that all the faculties are in *harmony* with each other. I cannot withhold the concluding passage on this subject. " By this illustration, the reader will understand more clearly what I mean by the harmony of the faculties. The fashionable and commercial friendships, of which I spoke, gratified the lower feelings, but left out, as fundamental principles, all the higher sentiments: there was therefore a want of harmony in these instances; an absence of full satisfaction; an uncertainty and changeableness, which gave rise to only a mixed and imperfect enjoyment while the friendship lasted, and to a feeling of

painful disappointment, and of vanity and vexation, when a rupture occurred. The error, in such cases, consists in founding attachment on the lower faculties, seeing they, by themselves, are not calculated to form a stable basis of affection; instead of building it on them and the higher sentiments, which afford a foundation for real, lasting, and satisfactory friendships. In complaining of the vanity and vexation of attachments springing from the lower faculties exclusively, we are like men who should try to build a pyramid on its smaller end, and then lament the hardness of their fate, and speak of the unkindness of Providence, when it fell. A similar analysis of all other pleasures founded on the animal propensities chiefly, would give similar results. In short, happiness must be viewed by men as connected inseparably with the exercise of the three great classes of faculties, the moral sentiments and intellect exercising the directing and controlling sway, before it can be permanently attained."

This chapter cannot be more appropriately concluded, than by calling the attention of the educationist to the light which he will find thrown on the moral government of the world, by the recognition, as true to nature, of the faculties of man, as now propounded, and their relative objects. It is the main design of Mr Combe's "Constitution of Man," to demonstrate the foundation of that government. He distinguishes the laws of nature into Physical, Organic, and Moral, and shows that if man does not yield obedience to these laws, evil, even in this life, will be the consequence.

1st, He has shewn—and he is entitled to the high

distinction of having been the first to shew—THAT THE NATURAL LAWS OPERATE INDEPENDENTLY OF EACH OTHER ; that each requires obedience to itself, and in its own specific way, rewards obedience, and punishes disobedience, and that human beings are happy precisely in proportion to the degree of their obedience, or to the degree in which they place themselves in accordance with these the Divine institutions. For example, an individual who neglects or carelessly observes the corresponding *physical* law of nature, will be drowned, or burnt, or crushed, or fractured, or lacerated, and that inevitably, however strictly he may obey the *moral* laws, even to the extent of the utmost reach of human virtue. Again, if he obeys the organic laws, he will reap bodily health, which is the specific reward of *that* obedience, nor will any degree of moral turpitude (if he avoids sensual excess, which is a breach of the organic as well as the moral laws), materially diminish his health. But his moral defects will bring their own punishment ; and, from these, his health of body will not protect him. This principle affords a key to much that appears inscrutable in the moral government of this world. Whatever man may be permitted to hope with regard to another, he must study and obey the laws which regulate this world, else no degree of piety and worth will save him from the evils which follow neglect of the physical and organic laws ; while no compliance with these last will shield him from moral suffering, if he contemns the moral laws. Whenever we get the principle of the *independent operation* of the different departments of the natural laws, the apparent confusion of life is explained,

and we see why the bad man often prospers *externally* in this world, and the good man is overwhelmed with misfortune;—I say externally, for the bad man cannot reap higher enjoyment than physical and organic, while, at the same time, he suffers all the penalties of a low morality. On the other hand, the good and pious man, however physically and organically afflicted, is compensated, even here, with the direct consolations of virtue and religion. But the *kind* of happiness enjoyed, or misery suffered, will be found invariably to result to each character directly and separately, and without the possibility of interference of any of the others, from the specific law or laws obeyed or contemned. This theory of the independent operation of the different classes of the laws of nature, which is itself sufficient, when practically applied to the affairs of man, to work a momentous change in his condition in the present world, is not, it is believed, to be found in any previous author, and therefore belongs to Mr Combe.

2d, Although many writers have partially shown, and more have conjectured, that there is a certain harmony between the constitution of external nature and the constitution of man, Mr Combe has been the first to *demonstrate* this harmony, as an all pervading principle of creation, and a perfect and beautifully symmetrical system. In order to perceive the wise relation of the natural laws to the human constitution in body and mind, *both* these related objects must be understood. On the one hand, the laws, physical, organic, and moral, must be observed, and their independent operation demonstrated; and on the other, the *mind* of man, as well as his body,

must be known; yet that knowledge, according to Mr Stewart, was, down to his time, “yet in expectation.” Mr Combe has adopted the faculties which have now been detailed, as primitive in man, and comparing *these* with external nature and nature’s laws, he at once saw and made plain to his countrymen and the world, the perfect correspondence and harmony which was the eternal design of an omnipotent Creator.

3d, The same gifted writer has shown, that while each natural law acts separately, there is a beautiful combination in their action, having for its object the cultivation of the moral and intellectual powers of man, and the establishment of their supremacy over the animal propensities; in other words, THAT THE WORLD IS ACTUALLY ARRANGED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF FAVOURING VIRTUE AND PUNISHING VICE, AND THAT IT IS, THROUGHOUT ITS CONSTITUTION, FRAMED IN ADMIRABLE ADAPTATION TO THE FACULTIES OF MAN AS A MORAL, INTELLIGENT, AND RELIGIOUS BEING. This sublime truth had not escaped previous observation. Bishop Butler *felt* it as an impression on his virtuous mind, but failed to establish its universality on demonstrable evidence. The name of George Combe must be associated,—and already is extensively associated in the four quarters of the globe,—with the demonstrated and completed system; which, by bringing into one point of view, the different constituent elements of the human constitution, and shewing their relations to each other and external nature, enables us to explain many of the phenomena of human life, with a simplicity and success which remind us of the light thrown upon the phenomena of the heavens by the principia of Newton.

Systems of Truth are the work of God : it is the highest reach of human intellect, humbly to observe and expound them ; and, with a mind enlarged and heart improved by the Moral Revelation which teems in the oracles of his works, to learn and apply to life and conduct the Oracles of his Word,—the one a republication, as has been sublimely and truly said, of the other. “ Wherefore,” says the enlightened and pious Melancthon, “ wherefore our decision is this, that those precepts which learned men have committed to writing, transcribing them from the common reason and common feelings of human nature, are to be accounted as not less Divine, than those contained in the tables given to Moses ; and that it could not be the intention of our Maker to supersede, by a law graven upon stone, that which is written with his own finger on the table of the heart *.”

* I should have observed earlier, that Mr Combe has published three lectures on Popular Education, delivered in October, at the request of the Edinburgh Association for Useful and Entertaining Science. In these he has brought his views of Man and Nature into the most satisfactory practical application. (Published by John Anderson junior, Edinburgh, and Longman & Co. London.) Messrs Chambers have done themselves honour by reprinting, with the author’s consent, the lectures *seriatim*, in their Journal, which circulates 50,000 copies.

CHAPTER IV.

ON EDUCATION AS ADAPTED TO THE FACULTIES—INFANT EDUCATION.

Faculties improveable—Man, how made wiser, how better.—Law of exercise of faculties—Each faculty on its own objects—Exercise of one faculty does not improve another—Faculties that require regulation, excitement, direction of intellect—Loadstar of education—Pupil's study of his own faculties, and their objects—Education, Physical, Moral, Intellectual—INFANT EDUCATION, to commence in the cradle—Infant school, Physical training, Moral, Intellectual—Real and verbal—Pestalozzi and Mayo—Lessons on Objects—Summary of education of faculties—Edinburgh Model Infant School—Religious impressions, no distinction of sects, preparative—Agency of Man in this—Divine blessing—Intolerance deprecated—Edinburgh Infant School on liberal basis—Progress and success of the school—Prizes and places—Great merit of Wilderspin—Prejudices against Infant education, objections answered.

THAT each sane individual possesses all the faculties which have been enumerated, though in different degrees of endowment, is not more true than that, in the faculties of every individual above the intellectual and moral grade of idiocy, there is some degree of improveability ;—some capacity of increase of strength in the moral and intellectual powers, and regulation in the animal propensities. All education is imperfect in the degree in which it falls short of attaining these ends. In its most general view, education is intended to make men wiser and better, in other words, to improve them intellectually and morally, But this is too vague a generality for practical purposes. The practice must be di-

rect operation on the various faculties, the improved direction and agency of which constitute wisdom and goodness.

Men are made wiser by the acquisition of knowledge and the habit of reflection; while they are made better by the improvement of their moral sentiments. It follows, that the *observing faculties* must be actively exercised, in the perception and memory of existences and events; and the *reflecting powers* habituated to extensive comparison and logical deduction. Industrial skill, again, depends on the increased activity of the *mechanical faculties*, and all the powers by which matter and its qualities and conditions are cognized. Moral worth is a general term for several particulars, which particulars must regulate the actual moral and religious training of the individual. The faculty of *Conscience* is, in its activity, essentially the moral worth of Justice, *Benevolence*, of brotherly love, and the exhaustless impulse to do good to our fellow men and the whole sentient creation, while *Veneration* must be directly exercised as the moral worth of piety, and the duty and delight of love and obedience to God. The improvement of these faculties by direct operation on each, is the only notion we can form of moral and religious training.

EACH AND EVERY FACULTY MUST BE POSITIVELY EXERCISED, TO BE IMPROVED. Preceptive inculcation is notoriously insufficient to give mechanical skill; in actual life it is never relied on, but the apprentice-hand is, for a course of years, set to the work. The same practice is required for the observing and reflecting faculties; they must themselves work in a long course of active practice,

to reap the reward of talent. In the moral faculties, exercise is not less essential. As well may we rest contented with saying to the destitute, the hungry, and the naked, "be ye clothed and fed," without offering them the actual means, as to our moral pupil, "be ye kind, compassionate, generous, be ye just and true, be ye pious," without exercising them in these graces. An apprenticeship—a long apprenticeship to justice, and mercy, and piety, is as essential to the practical exercise of these, as it is to skill in handicraft trades. The LAW OF EXERCISE IS OF UNIVERSAL APPLICATION. It is a fundamental law of nature, that ALL the capacities of man are enlarged and strengthened by being used. From the energy of a muscle, up to the highest faculty intellectual or moral, repeated exercise of the function increases its intensity. The efficiency of the blacksmith's right arm and the philosopher's brain depends upon the same law. The bodily force, the senses, the observing and reasoning faculties, the moral feelings, can only be improved by habitual exercise. Custom, habit, skill, address, nay, virtue itself, are all the fruits of exercise, and come not without it. It is amazing how inconsiderably this great truth is practically acted upon in education. Its use in moral training is a discovery of yesterday, and is yet recognised only to the most limited extent. Its efficiency in intellectual improvement is likewise only beginning to be understood; in short, it has only been in the capabilities of the hand and the limbs, which necessity teaches even the savage *must* be exercised to attain skill, that the law of exercise has been recognised in practice. The savage puts into his infant son's hands the bow and ar-

row and the sling, and keeps him at severe and persevering trial for years ; he throws him into the water to train him to swim, and accustoms his limbs to run, leap, and climb, by long practice. The mechanic puts the tool and the material into the hands of his pupil, and sets him to work, well knowing that his progress were hopeless from mere verbal explanations. He might advance a certain way by example, by seeing how his master worked, and he will do so, at the same time that he receives verbal instruction, over and above practical exercise ; the whole three appliances are requisite : but the verbal explanation, the precept alone will do nothing ; with example added, it will do a little ; but by the three means of precept, example, and exercise, combined, the end is completely gained. Now, there is no exception of any faculty from this law. Kindness and compassion are enlarged only by a long course of actual practice of kindness and compassion ; while Justice is strengthened by the habit of fairness and candour, just as much as shoemaking is improved by shoemaking.

Inseparable from the very idea of exercising the faculties, and of course from the practice of that exercise, is the requisite of exercising each faculty upon the objects which, as has already been shewn, nature points out as related to it. Muscular strength is to be gained by familiarising the muscles with the resistance of external forces, and by the habit of conquering mechanical difficulties, varied to exercise all the muscles, which amount to several hundreds in the human frame. The senses are improved by long and particular training, applying each to its own object ; sight, by habitual looking at dis-

tant or minute objects, a talent of great value at sea, and in war ; hearing, by acute practice in the perception of sounds ; taste, in the discriminating use of the palate, as in wine-tasters, two of whom detected an iron key attached to a leather thong in a cask of wine, the one perceiving in the wine the taste of iron, and the other of leather. The savage acts upon this principle ; he does not content himself with telling his son the advantages of long and minute sight and acute hearing, but he exercises his eyes and ears, by many ingenious devices. In the very same manner, the observing faculties are rendered acute and diversified, by the constant practice of accurate observation of details in existing objects and their qualities, and of passing events. It will afterwards appear, that no exercise is less understood, or more partially and imperfectly practised, than that of *observation*. The reasoning faculties, again, are enlarged and invigorated by long didactic practice, by familiarity with premises and logical sequence, and by many an essay of comparison and illustration. Language is rendered copious and fluent by direct practice in clothing thoughts with words. The same law extends into the moral world. For the exercise of Justice, the pupil must be made aware of his own and his neighbour's rights, and be habituated, practically, to respect them in all contingencies. For the exercise of Benevolence, the habit of repressing the selfish feelings, and of actually doing good, kind, compassionate, and generous things, not by fits, but as a steady, unvarying principle of action, will be found indispensable ; while, for practical piety, the attributes of God, and the wonders of creation, with all their benevolent purposes

—the whole power, and wisdom, and goodness, of the Creator, must, by exercise of all the faculties to which these are addressed, be contemplated practically, extensively, and habitually, in order to found that pious gratitude and love, through which, the truths of Revelation itself touch the heart and influence the conduct.

It is another vital practical truth, forming a corollary to the last, that the exercise of one faculty will only improve that faculty, and is not adapted to improve any other. Nothing has more retarded education than ignorance and disregard of this great principle. It would be as reasonable to attempt to sharpen the hearing by exercising the eyes, or the touch by the smell, as to improve reflection by simple observation, or, either, by learning languages; while all of these may be carried to the utmost pitch of human attainment, and yet justice remain defective, the heart cold and selfish, and the sentiment of piety almost non-existent. The evils of the practical disbelief or ignorance of this truth, which we find existing in the most learned men, are only beginning to be suspected.

Some of the impulses require less the exercise of activity, than the habit of restraint; or rather of regulation; for the All-wise has given to man no faculty whatever to be utterly suppressed. In this His whole work is good. The lowest animal propensities have the dignity of utility, an adaptation to their end, worthy of their great Contriver; and it is to libel his work to hold them up to reprobation, as some well-meaning but unreflecting religionists are apt to do, as proofs of innate human depravity; there is no evil but in their abuse; it is,

therefore requisite that they should be restrained within the bounds of utility ; there is no need to increase their activity. But the moral sentiments act much more feebly in themselves, and are too often overborne by the preponderating power of animal propensities ; it is, therefore, of the very essence of education, to strengthen them by exercise, and to bring to their aid the whole power of the intellect. It has been already said, that all the *feelings*, animal and moral, are blind impulses, and require the direction of the intellect ; the latter must be taught habitually to ally itself with the moral sentiments, to direct them aright, and, in combination with them, acting upon the animal impulses, to keep these to their legitimate uses. For example, the animal propensity of the love of money would prompt a debtor to withhold payment of his debt, by the force of that blind selfish feeling ; Conscience, as a moral sentiment, would be wounded by such an act ; Reflection would point out the consequences to character, and the futility of the attempt ; and Conscience and Reflection together would master the withholding propensity, and the debt would be paid. The inferior feeling of Fear, would impel even the patriot warrior to fly from the battle ; for the bravest fear wounds and death ; but better feelings, which need not be enumerated, antagonize the dastard purpose, and reflection coming to their aid, he meets the danger with heroism, and overcomes it. These are farther examples of the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect over the animal propensities, explained in the preceding chapter ; and as upon this principle creation is constituted, it ought to be the load-star of education, which

therefore, cannot be too early or earnestly pressed upon the attention.

But, to enable the pupil to comprehend and act upon the principle of the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect, he must be early and habitually, as a point of knowledge, made acquainted with the animal propensities, moral sentiments and intellect, as elements of his own nature ; in other words, he must know and distinguish the various human faculties, with their relative value, and their respective objects. If I have correctly enumerated certain powers or feelings which belong to man, it is obvious that the earlier the pupil knows that these powers or feelings belong to his nature, the sooner he will know how to exercise them aright. It did no harm to reserve the unpractical metaphysics, hitherto called the science of mind, for the study of manhood, as an intricate and abstract curiosity upon which much talent has been wasted ; but whenever the study of mind is rendered practical, as it ought to be, its constitution should be made known to the pupil as early as his intellect is fitted to receive it. It will aid him in his future progress, moral and intellectual, just as a knowledge of his tools aids the operations of the mechanic. Accustomed, as he ought to be, to trace his own and his fellows' motives and acts to their sources in the faculties, and to appreciate these motives according as they flow from the higher or the lower feelings, he will acquire a nice discrimination of human affairs in all their shades and varieties ; and, aware of the rank and value of the faculties in operation in any act, the abuses to which they are liable, and the evils resulting from these abuses, he will

have an additional guard upon his whole life, unknown to those who use their faculties as it were empirically, and, ignorant of the instruments they employ, and the principles of their operation, are good and wise by the fits and starts of natural impulse alone.

When we have got the principle that education should harmonize with the bodily constitution and the mental faculties, by imparting a knowledge of these, of their relation to external objects, and of the mental faculties to each other, and by exercising each mental faculty upon its own objects, we have got a test of easy and universal application, a standard which will not desert us, so long as we do not leave it. Considering the bodily powers, and the division of the faculties into animal, moral, and intellectual, it is self-evident that education will divide itself into Physical, Moral, and Intellectual.

By PHYSICAL EDUCATION is meant the improvement of the bodily powers and functions. There is much useful instruction in medical writers on this subject; but, from this very circumstance, not only its theory but its practical application is too much held to be a medical more than a popular object, and therefore is apt to be lost sight of altogether. This is a great error; the physician may be required to direct the cure of actual disease, but the conditions of preserving health and preventing disease are in our own hands, and depend upon our knowledge of them. This is not the place to impart that knowledge, but only to urge the necessity of its being imparted, and of the teacher of youth being qualified to impart it, so that the pupil should not only acquire the habit of a judicious attention to health, in the different and

very simple requisites of air, temperature, clothing, diet, sleep, cleanliness, all as concerning himself, but should be able to apply his knowledge to the treatment of the infant of which he may afterwards become the parent. This last office concerns particularly the other sex. The physical education of the infant necessarily begins at birth, and the mother, and all employed about it, should not only be disabused of all gossip absurdities, such as swathing, rocking, and the like, but should know and apply, as a matter of easy practice, certain rules as to temperature and clothing, avoiding cold and too much heat,—attention to the skin, and ablution from tepid water gradually to cooler, but never cold till a more advanced period,—food, from the mother's milk, to other aliments,—air,—light,—sleep,—exercise, with avoidance of all positions and premature movements hurtful to the limbs, the spine and the joints,—dentition, &c.

This care will occupy two years, when the child, quite able to walk alone, will commence a course of exercise in which he will have more to do himself than is done for him. His habits ought still to be well watched and judiciously directed, in all the matters of air, exercise, food, sleep, cleanliness, clothing, temperature, &c., and the advantages of attention to these so strongly and practically impressed upon himself, as to become a permanent habit for life—a *manière d'être*, the contrary of which would be an annoyance and deprivation. Temperance, and moderation in all excitements, should be inculcated and practised, sedentary employment should be relieved by regular daily exercise in the open air, and that so contrived by judicious gymnastics as to exercise and strength-

en all the muscles. As will afterwards be stated, health may be benefited by the useful exercise of judicious manual labour in the open air. On the whole, physical education will depend on knowledge of physiology, of the parts of the body and their functions, which, as will appear in the sequel, should form a part of education*.

MORAL EDUCATION embraces both the animal and moral impulses; it regulates, as has already been shewn, the former, and strengthens the latter. Whenever gluttony, indelicacy, violence, cruelty, greediness, cowardice, pride, insolence, vanity, or any mode of selfishness, shew themselves in the individual under training, one and all must be repressed with the most watchful solicitude, and the most skilful treatment. Repression may at first fail to be accomplished unless by severity, but the instructor, sufficiently enlightened in the faculties, will, the first practicable moment, drop the coercive system, and awaken and appeal powerfully to the higher faculties of conscience and benevolence, and to the powers of reflection. This done with kindness, in other words, with a marked manifestation of benevolence itself, will operate with a power, the extent of which, in education, is yet, to a very limited extent, estimated. In the very exercise of the superior faculties the inferior are indirectly acquiring a habit of restraint and regulation; for it is morally impossible to cultivate the superior faculties without a simultaneous, though indirect, regulation of the inferior.

* On this subject, Dr Combe's excellent work on the "Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health," is again referred to; also Dr Poole on Education.

INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION imparts knowledge and improves reflective power, by exercising the proper faculties upon their proper objects. Moral training, strictly distinguished, is a course of exercise in moral feeling and moral acting ; yet, from the nature of the faculties, moral and intellectual exercise must proceed together, the highest aim and end of intellectual improvement being moral elevation, which is the greatest happiness in this life, and an important preparation for a future. Yet nature and necessity point to an earlier appliance of direct moral than direct intellectual training, because there is but one time for moral training, and that is infancy. I hope to make this manifest.

INFANT EDUCATION.

1st, A watchful observance and management of the temper, whose abuse is the impulse to violence and anger, should commence when the subject is yet in the cradle. The utmost that can then be attempted is the diversion of the infant from the feeling, when excited, and its object, and the avoidance of all exciting causes of its activity. If this be neglected, a bent is given, which it is most difficult ever afterwards to set straight.

2d, The child, so managed by his nurse as to escape the first trials of temper, should be introduced as early as possible to his fellows of the same age ; the best time is when he can just walk alone ; for it is in the society of his fellows that the means of his moral training are to be found.

3d, It is advantageous, nay necessary, that his fellows

shall be numerous, presenting a variety of dispositions, —an actual world into which he is introduced, a world of infant business, and infant intercourse, a miniature, and it is so, of the adult world itself. The numbers should rather exceed fifty than fall much short of it.

4th, But this intercourse must not be at random, each infant only bringing its stock of animalism to aggravate that of its playmates, and establish a savage community. It must be correctly systematized, and narrowly superintended and watched, by well instructed and habitually moral persons.

5th, The conductor's own relation to his infant charge should be affection, cheerfulness, mirth, and that activity of temperament which delights and keeps alive the infant faculties.

6th, The infants should be permitted to play together out of doors, in unrestrained freedom ; a watchful eye being all the while kept upon the nature and manner of their intercourse.

7th, Unceasing encouragement should be given to the practice of generosity, gentleness, mercy, kindness, honesty, truth, and cleanliness in personal habits ; and all occasions of quarrel, or cruelty, or fraud, or falsehood, minutely and patiently examined into, and the moral balance, when upset, restored ; while, on the other hand, all indelicacy, filthiness, greediness, covetousness, unfairness, dishonesty, violence, cruelty, insolence, vanity, cowardice, and obstinacy, should be repressed by all the moral police of the community. No instance should ever be passed over.

8th, There ought to be much well-regulated muscular

exercise in the play of the infants, which should be as much as possible in the open air.

9th, Their school-hall should be large, and regularly ventilated when they are out of it, and when they are in it if the weather permits ; and the importance of ventilation, air, exercise, and cleanliness, unceasingly illustrated, and impressed upon them as a habit and a duty.

10th, Every means of early implanting taste and refinement should be employed, for these are good pre-occupants of the soil to the exclusion of the coarseness of vice. The play-ground should be neatly laid out, with borders for flowers, shrubs, and fruit-trees, tasteful ornaments erected, which the coarse-minded are so prone to destroy, and the infants habituated not only to respect but to admire and delight in them ; while the entire absence of guard or restraint will give them the feeling that they are confided in, and exercise yet higher feelings than taste and refinement.

11th, The too prevalent cruelty of the young to animals, often from mere thoughtlessness, may be prevented by many lessons on the subject, and by the actual habit of kindness to pets, kept for the purpose, such as a dog, a cat, rabbits, ducks, &c. ; and by hearing all cruelty, even to reptiles, reprobated by their teacher and all their companions. An insect or reptile ought never to be permitted to be killed or tortured*.

12th, The practice of teasing idiots or imbecile persons in the streets, ought to be held in due reprobation, as ungenerous, cruel, and cowardly. In the same way,

* See App. No. III.

other hurtful practices, even those which are the vices of more advanced years, may be prevented by anticipation. For example, ardent spirits-drinking may, for the three or four years of the infant training, be so constantly reprobated in the precepts, lessons, and illustrative stories of the conductor, and the ready acquiescence of the whole establishment, as to be early and indissolubly associated with poison and with crime; instead of being, as is now too much the case, held up to the young as the joy and privilege of manhood *.

13th, Many prejudices, fears, and superstitions, which render the great mass of the people intractable, may be prevented from taking root, by three or four years of contrary impressions; superstitious terrors, the supernatural agencies and apparition of witches and ghosts, distrust of the benevolent advances of the richer classes, suspicions, envyings, absurd self-sufficiencies and vanities, and many other hurtful and antisocial habits of feeling may be absolutely excluded, and a capacity of much higher moral principle established in their stead.

14th, Besides the moral habitudes which we have exemplified rather than fully enumerated,—habitudes gained by four years *practice* for at least six hours every day,—the Intellectual faculties must not be neglected in infant training. Those which begin early to act must be the better for early judicious direction and exercise. At six months' old, infants are commencing the use of the faculty of *observing* external objects, and are seeing, hearing, and touching with marked acute-

* See App. No. III.

ness and activity. A judicious nurse, instructed in the infant faculties and their relative objects, might direct and exercise all these powers to their great improvement, so as to render them better instruments for the infant's use, when, at two years old, he joins a number of his cotemporaries. The stimulus of numbers will work wonders on the child, and bring out his observing and remembering intellect in a manner that will surprise his family at home. The first objects of his attentive observation will be his numerous little friends; then all the varied objects of that new world the infant seminary; its pictures, numerous and highly coloured beyond his dreams; the curiosities of the little museum; the flowers, the fruit-trees, the dressed border, of the play-ground, the swings for exercise, the wooden bricks for building, the astonishing movements, and feats, and learning, and cleverness of the trained pupils, will all fill the youngest new-comer with wonder, delight, and ardour, and heartily engage him in the business of the place in a day or two. A skilful teacher will keep up the activity of the faculty of *wonder*, thus excited, as long as he can without the risk of exhausting it. Every object presented is now a wonder, to be eagerly gazed at, and curiously handled; and here will commence, with zeal on the infant learner's side, that grand but recent improvement in education, REAL, as distinguished from merely VERBAL, intellectual training; but yet real including verbal as an accessory, instead of verbal excluding real. The discovery, for it is so, that it is better at once to introduce the pupil to the real tangible visible world, than to do no more than talk to him about it in its absence, is of immense value,

and of admirable application to infant intellectual training. The child of two years is acutely appetised for *things*, but yet very feebly for *words*: when, by a grand error, words are forced upon him, things will infallibly take off his attention, and often has he been punished for evincing a law of his nature, inattention to his "book." If the instructor understands and obeys nature, he will readily and judiciously supply things or objects to those faculties in his pupil, which were created to be intensely gratified with the cognizance of them. We mean by a judicious supply of objects, a scientific combination of the pupil's delight with his improvement. The objects should be arranged in lessons, and successively presented to the pupil's senses and faculty for observing existences. The simple and obvious qualities of any object, are inseparable from it, and should be carefully pointed out to him; while, by a succession of objects, he will learn a variety of qualities, till he has mastered all the qualities of external objects, cognizable without chemical analysis. For example *, introduce a class of pupils to a piece of GLASS. Let them each and all see it, handle it, weigh it, look through it, break it, cut with it, &c. They have thus got its colour, smoothness, hardness, weight, transparency, brittleness, sharpness. Let them, at the same time, be familiarised with the *words* that express glass, and all these its qualities, and let them see each word printed, and written, and spelled, by which means their reading is incidentally begun. Ask them if they can

* I take these examples from Dr Mayo's "Lessons on Objects," for the Cheam School, Surry, on the Pestalozzi plan. I shall have occasion to recur to Dr Mayo.

name something else that is transparent? They will probably answer, water. Something else which cuts? A knife. If the piece of sponge tied to their slate is smooth? No, it is rough. Tell them the uses of glass. In their next lesson give them something very different from glass in its qualities as to transparency, smoothness, hardness, brittleness, sharpness,—for example, a piece of **INDIA RUBBER**. It is opaque, (write the word and exhibit it printed, as with all the others), soft, not brittle, not sharp, besides being flexible, elastic, inflammable, black, tough, waterproof. Every quality must be shewn in its own way, and the uses of the substance explained. **LEATHER** is the third lesson. Wherever any quality of the new object agrees with a quality found in any previous object, let the pupils find that out. Leather, like India rubber, is flexible, opaque, waterproof, tough, smooth, combustibile. It differs from it in odour, &c. **SUGAR** is the object of the fourth lesson. It agrees with the two preceding objects, in being opaque, and with glass in being hard and brittle; but it is soluble (demonstrated by dissolving a piece in water), fusible (in the flame of a candle), white, sweet, sparkling, &c. Its uses are well known to children. The lessons proceed, and by means of twenty-two of the commonest articles (including the four named above), viz. gum, sponge, wood, water, beeswax, camphor, bread, sealing-wax, whalebone, blotting-paper, willow, milk, spice, salt, horn, ivory, chalk, and oak-bark, are gained the **REAL IDEAS**, and the inseparable names, of the following qualities, viz. bright, yellow, semitransparent, adhesive when melted, porous, absorbing, soft, dull, light-brown, dry, light, liquid, re-

flective, colourless, inodorous, tasteless, heavy, purifying, wholesome, sticky, yellowish, aromatic, friable, volatile, soluble in spirits, medicinal, edible, nutritious, yellowish-white, moist, impressible, adhesive, fibrous, stiff, pungent, jagged, thin, pinkish, pliable, easily torn, fluid, greasy, granular, saline, sapid, uneven, hollow, odorous when burnt, tapering, effervescent in acid, rugged, &c. Of course, when the quality cannot be observed without it, an experiment is made, as by making chalk effervesce in vinegar.

When the children are perfectly familiar with the objects which, in twenty-two lessons, form the first series, their qualities, names, the abstract ideas, and uses, can tell wherein they agree or differ, and read and spell the words, they are introduced to a second series of fourteen lessons, each lesson on a specific object. This series is preceded by an explanation of the *five senses*, while the knowledge already acquired is classified according as it has come through the channel of each sense, or through that of more than one sense at a time. Parts of objects are submitted to the pupils, as of a pin, a cube of wood, with its angle and surfaces, the cylindrical form of an uncut lead pencil, a pen, a wax candle, a chair, a clock, an egg, a tray, a cup, a grain of coffee, a pair of scissors, &c.

The third series of seventeen lessons, introduces the children to the notions of natural and artificial, such as wool, and woollen-cloth, animal, vegetable, animate, inanimate, illustrated by a quill, a flower, an insect. Again, the qualities and parts acquired in the former lessons, and the terms they have used, are rehearsed,

the terms have been incidentally impressed by connecting them with real ideas. The derivation of the words from the Latin and Greek, &c. are likewise made an exercise, and the ideas, the words, and their derivations, are all connected together in one indissoluble association. In the lessons of the third series, the qualities, parts, conditions, differences, agreements, manufacture, and abstract ideas of the following objects are impressed and connected with language:—Wool, a halfpenny, mustard-seed, an apple, glass of a watch, brown sugar, refined sugar, an acorn, honeycomb, butter-cup, lady-bird, oyster, a fir-cone, fur, laurel-leaf, a needle, a stone. It is evident that these few objects lead to a great variety of valuable ideas, with their corresponding terms and derivations, their uses, places whence brought, abstract terms arising, &c., for example, mineral, metallic, fusible, indigenous, spherical, stimulating; stone, stony; milk, milky; organized, inorganized, &c. At least one hundred new ideas are conveyed in this series.

The fourth series has for its aim, the classification of objects according to their resemblances and differences. This is an advance upon the former lessons, as it calls into activity the reflecting faculty of comparison. The spices are chosen as forming a connected series of objects. The metals, woods, and grains, follow, and a store of collateral ideas are imparted, such as production, trade and commerce, uses of malt, hops, and many others. An exercise in the comparison of substances, shewing the points of resemblance and difference, concludes the series.

The ideas imparted by the lessons in these four series, are sufficient for infants from two years of age to six,

the infant-school period. The fifth and last series of forty-nine lessons, will suit better the more advanced school, to which we shall come in the sequel.

The reader, it is presumed, is now prepared to estimate the value of educating man according to his faculties. Under the department of moral training, he has seen education applied to the regulation of the inferior faculties, which give rise to drunkenness, gluttony, greediness, anger, violence, cruelty, insolence, rapacity, dishonesty, cunning, and falsehood; he has also seen it applied to the cultivation and increase of the superior moral faculties, which lead to justice, benevolence, and piety; while, under the branch of intellectual training, he has seen an exposition of direct training of the faculties, by which we gain the simplest knowledge of material objects, and their qualities and relations, and of the faculty whereby we put ideas into words, give objects names, and read and spell the same in letters, in other words, incidentally learn to read. An excellent arrangement on the monitorial plan is made for reading, by marching small classes of four or five children each, under a monitor, round a succession of boards hung on posts; the boards contain both letter-press and pictures.

All the intellectual course described, is really accessorial to moral training. I say accessorial; for moral training is the paramount object of the Infant system.

In the Model Infant School in Edinburgh, Dr Mayo's lessons on objects are taught and practised by Mr Milne the present teacher. Dr Mayo does not give his lessons till after the pupil has passed six and even eight years of age. Experience in the Edinburgh School has shown

that this is an uncalled for loss of time ; the very simple, though useful knowledge, we have detailed, which is in requisition every hour of our lives, and is used even in the most advanced investigations of the chemist and mechanical philosopher, being found to be beneficially mastered by infants, and impressed, it is trusted, never to be obliterated. But the Infant School system, as realized in Edinburgh, besides the Cheam lessons on objects, affords intellectual instruction on many other points, such as the elements of arithmetic,—by the visible method of small balls on wires in frames,—money, tables of weights and measures, geography, the elementary mathematical figures, with no inconsiderable portion of useful practical knowledge, often conveyed in verse, and sung in chorus ; while no opportunity is omitted by the teacher to amuse as well as to instruct, by anecdotes illustrative of the lessons, and told in an elliptical manner, so that the children themselves fill up the blanks as it were, the teacher stopping the narrative till they do so, or making some sign or motion implying the desired idea.

The lessons are never continued too long, seldom beyond half an hour ; while the intervals are filled up with short portions of exercise in the play-ground, in which the teacher often joins, keeping up spirit and active movement, while he is narrowly watching moral conduct and social intercourse. The school-room is regularly ventilated by cross windows when the children are out of it, properly warmed in winter, and kept particularly neat and clean, and even showy ; while the pupils are habituated to value these attentions, and receive lessons upon their end and object, which they carry to their homes, where it is most needed.

Careful provision is made in the Infant system to give early religious *impressions*, in a manner which shall connect religious ideas with every thing in life, and render them a means of happiness, and not, as is too much done—and it is a remnant of popery—a source of tasks and punishments for the present, and terror for the future. Every lesson, every step in the simplest knowledge, is made a channel for allusions to, and illustrations of, the Creator's power and goodness; while His will that his laws, moral and physical, shall be obeyed, is rendered obvious, by an exposition of the evils resulting from disobedience, and the benefits from obedience. Thus, the Creator is always kept in view, not alone as an awful Judge sitting on high watching the thoughts and actions of his creatures to reward or punish them hereafter,—a view of him which addresses selfishness alone and never can produce elevation—but as the PRESENT GOD, the Essence of every thing around us, guiding us to temporal as well as eternal happiness, by his infinite wisdom and goodness. These *real* impressions lay an early foundation for the love of God, which no mere precepts, still less ill-judged threats, can ever succeed in producing. The Saviour's history, which exercises and delights the higher faculties, is detailed in the most attractive manner, and what he did for mankind simply expounded, as it ought to be to infants; while the morality of his precepts and benignity of his example are easily and beautifully shown to be the very kindness, justice, and truth, which they are taught to exercise in their mutual intercourse. Thus, the morality of their every day conduct, and their habitual love of God, are connected with the

morality of Christianity, and associated in their minds as identical with it. No creed or catechism of any sect whatever, dominant or dissenting, is taught them ; not only because the children of many sects unite in the same school, but because religion taught to the very young in that form, has been found at once unintelligible and repulsive. Scripture history, illustrated by well chosen engravings, coloured to attract, conveys to them, in a pleasing manner, the leading facts of both Testaments, and always with a heart-improving application ; while their prayers and hymns are of the simplest, most improving, and least sectarian character. This is a more fitting culture for *ulterior* instruction by the pastors of their own respective persuasions, (upon whom the duty should mainly fall, else their office is superfluous), than these or other persuasions will achieve by any other mode of religious instruction we have yet met with or heard of. Those who, with the best intentions, but—I say it with respect—uninformed zeal, prefer, to the course now recommended, what they miscall, as applied to infants, a religious foundation of doctrines and catechisms, and these of their own sect exclusively, and an early impression of God as an object of terror, which degrades religion to selfish calculation and interested adulation, are little aware how signally they are defeating their own purpose, and rendering more and more extensive the evil of which they so loudly complain, the want of practical vital religion. What, on the other hand, is now proposed, is the *preparation* of the soil for the good seed formerly alluded to. It is at least the commencement of the process of preparation : it engages the affections, and connects religion

with associations of delight, which will never leave the mind. The author has been assured by Mr Wilderspin, and the statement has been confirmed by the two successive teachers of the Edinburgh Model Infant School, Mr Wright, deceased, and Mr Milne, that whenever the children are allowed a choice of the kind of story to be told them, the vote is almost invariably for a Scripture story. Their intellectual improvement, and their habitual moral exercise, will serve to strengthen the religious feelings as they advance in years. The Report of the Committee of Management of the General Assembly's Schools in Scotland has borne valuable testimony to this, by declaring that progress in secular knowledge was accompanied by progress in religious attainment. If this is true of intellectual progress merely, how much more must it result from what the General Assembly has not yet made provision for,—the practical moral training of Infant Schools, and the continued moral exercise which an enlightened system of ulterior education will find means of uniting with all the subsequent stages. The author has been assured by the teachers of more advanced schools in Edinburgh, to which the Infant School trained children have been transferred, that they are the most docile, cheerful, and ready pupils in the school; and there cannot be a doubt that their religious teachers, when they come into their hands, will have the same experience. This is the first step of that effective excavation from heathenism, always with the blessing of God, which Dr Chalmers desiderates.

There are excellent and sincere men, who will not concur in these views of preparation; for them I en-

tain great respect, and would yet greater, if they were a little more tolerant of others, who, wishing, as sincerely as they can do, that religion should live in the heart, and breathe in the actions of every human being, labour towards that blessed end in a somewhat different direction ; but I beg them to consider, that in thus urging preparation, I am to be understood as speaking only of the propriety of using means, and nowise as touching, far less impugning, the doctrine of free grace.

As the Edinburgh Model School has now been at work for three years, this is the proper place to state shortly how the experiment has succeeded. A Report has been published by the Directors of the Society, which,—after detailing the progress of the children *intellectually*, which was witnessed on several occasions by the public, at stated exhibitions characterised by the spirit, animation, and zeal inspired by the system,—adds, in an appendix, a series of incidents, the results of the moral influence of the place, classed according as they manifested—kindness, brotherly love, gentleness and mercy,—truth, honesty, and honour—attachment, refinement, &c. ; and the picture, considering the class of life, is most satisfactory. I have extracted fully from the Report in the Appendix of this work (No. III.), and earnestly request the reader to peruse that extract, which, from its great interest, will well reward his labour. He will find quarrelling rarely occurring, fighting unknown, insolence and selfishness restrained, found money faithfully restored, provisions, however exposed, untouched, kindness—even generosity manifested, mercy to animals, cleanly habits, refinement and ornament respected, and horror of

ardent spirits inculcated and expressed. A few specimens, out of many letters received from the parents, are added, which shew the improvement effected on the conduct and demeanour of the children at home ; namely, a change from filth, laziness, obstinacy, waywardness, and selfishness,—to cleanliness, activity, docility, respect and kindness.

We might have mentioned in its place, but it is never out of season to do so, that, while all appliances, direct and indirect, are resorted to, for the purpose of regulating the inferior, and cultivating the superior feelings, that grand solecism of ordinary seminaries of education, an appeal to pride, vanity, and love of gain, three grand enemies of human weal, is avoided within the walls of an infant school. There are no prizes, medals, or places of distinction among the infants. These are banished, or rather are unheard of, as incompatible with the essence of the system ; its chief object being to moderate selfishness, they would be as self-defeating as oil applied to extinguish fire. They are, moreover, quite superfluous under a system of training which gives delight by exercising so many of the faculties, and succeeds in keeping up for years a degree of animation, attention, and zeal, which the selfish impulse of places and prizes never yet attained, in the dull routines which require these artificial stimulants. The author remembers once asking Mr Wilderspin if he had ever tried place-taking ? He answered, “ *My* infants would scorn the *baby* practice ; it would lower the whole character of the school, and defeat my best endeavours for their moral improvement.” It may be added, that it would lower the *intellectual* charac-

ter of the place not less, inasmuch as it would spur the clever few to learn in order to gratify a selfish feeling, while the great majority would give up the race from despairing of the prize, which is absurdly rendered the chief attraction and motive to exertion *. We need not consume time on the other well known stimulus, in ordinary schools, punishments. These are directed to a base fear, often excite the most malignant feelings of revenge, and would, unless under the most cautious regulation, be as hurtful as unnecessary in a well conducted infant school.

Viewing infant education as the most powerful instrument of moral elevation yet invented by man, I am anxious to remove any objection which inattention to its real nature is apt to throw in the way of its progress. Its novelty and utter dissimilarity to any preceding sys-

* I feel it not only a duty but a delight to devote a note to this singularly meritorious individual, whom it concerns the public to know before they are called upon, as they *must* be, to approve of his receiving a national tribute for the benefits he has conferred on his fellow men,—the toils he has cheerfully endured,—the pittance he has generally conditioned as bare livelihood,—and last, and not least, the obstructions and persecutions with which his enlightened and benevolent labours have been met, chiefly, it cannot be concealed, from high churchmen. If an Infant School is to be organized in the extreme north of Scotland, Mr Wilderspin will come from Cheltenham, where he resides, for the humblest travelling expenses and means of subsistence, and devote six weeks to the training of the pupils and teachers; while, by his lectures and zeal, he never fails to give such an impulse to the whole region which he visits, as often gives him several schools to set agoing before he is called elsewhere. He is ready for any infant-education enterprize, to the sacrifice of every selfish consideration; and once offered himself to go to the West Indies to organize schools for the children of the Negroes, if he should perish in the attempt. It is fair to add, that Mr Wilderspin did not first *invent* Infant Schools; but he has to so great an extent improved them in principle and details, as beyond all question to have made them his own.

tem, and its inconsistency with all the notions hitherto entertained of infant capabilities, have combined to raise against its first announcement the strongest prejudice. 1st, The idea is ridiculed of teaching children from two to four years of age any thing. It is called education run mad,—a hotbed of precocity,—parrot-training,—confinement and tasks when children should run wild,—realizing the adage, “soon ripe soon rotten,” and so forth. It is impossible to present a more instructive example of that ignorance of the human faculties which is yet nearly universal in society, than these objections, which, it must have been observed, are promptly and unreflectingly stated, and with considerable dogmatism, in every company where infant schools are mentioned. It is utterly unsuspected by the objectors, that man is a moral as well as an intellectual being; that he has *feelings* which require education, and that on the right training of these depend the happiness of the individual and welfare of society, infinitely more than on the highest attainments merely intellectual. Now, the education of the feelings has already been shewn to be the primary and paramount object of the infant school system: it has, moreover, been distinctly laid down, that these feelings are incomparably more easily bent and moulded to good in infancy than in after years; that after six years of age their effectual culture is, in many cases, nearly hopeless; hence, to delay it till this age would be to leave it out of education altogether; and this, to the heavy cost of society, has been hitherto the ignorantly adopted alternative.

But, again, while *moral* training is the primary object of infant education, and, in respect of its only practicable

period of life, requiring that the schools for it should be schools for infants, it has been found natural and advantageous to ingraft upon that training a most beneficial *intellectual* culture, suited to the tender age of the pupils, and very far indeed from meriting the incredulous contempt with which our objectors treat it. No intelligent or candid person can read Mr Wilderspin's work on the system, but, above all, *see* the inspiring spectacle of a well conducted infant school, and persist in maintaining that the intellectual culture is injudicious, premature, annoying to the children, and useless: the intellectual faculties, and ALL these faculties, not one or two of them as in ordinary schools, are moderately exercised, so as to combine amusement with instruction; and as they are presented with their appropriate objects, they cognize and enjoy complete comprehension of every object presented. Their studies are varied with healthful exercise and constant amusement, story, song, and fun; nothing like a task annoys them, and they obtain, without an exertion, much fundamental knowledge to serve them for life.

2d, Those who are not so decided on the objection of premature education, are yet extremely peremptory on the point of committing the early years of infants to any other hand than the mother's. It is to break, they say, the hallowed bond which unites the parent and the child, to alienate the heart of the infant from his proper guardian, and take away from the latter all motive for parental solicitude. In answer to this, reference is triumphantly made to the letters from the parents of children at the Edinburgh Model Infant School, as the best possible evidence of the working of the system in this im-

portant particular;* the letters dwell with pleasure upon the improvement perceived in the children in love for, and concern about, their parents; obedience and obligingness are the every-day fruits of this improvement, and there cannot fail to be that beautiful re-action which, through the affectionate influence of the child, insensibly reforms and christianises the parents. Accordingly, the letters state the fact with gratitude, that the children, who used to be a nuisance at home, are now a pride and pleasure, and the parents look for their return from school as the most cheerful hour of the day. A slight reflection would, independent of such evidence, serve to convince any person of sense, that separation of the child from the parents for six hours in the day, is no greater separation than actually takes place in every rank of life; eighteen hours out of the twenty-four may surely suffice to recover the affections which six hours absence may have endangered: but there is so much nonsense in this objection, that it is really to lose time to answer it gravely. Will any one pretend, that parents in the lower classes are fitted to exercise their children in moral, religious, cleanly and wholesome habits! Nay, more, are there many parents in the middle and higher classes, who, committing their children, as they do, to the exclusive society of nursery-maids for much more than six hours a-day, can say that they have time, and method, and means, for communicating moral improvement to their children, superior to what is done according to a system founded on the most philosophical principles, and the most enlightened views of human nature,—the

* Appendix, No. III.

Infant School system of Wilderspin? I have heard mothers of intelligence, accomplishment, and experience, admit and regret that the principles of early moral education *cannot* be regularly, systematically, and efficiently applied at home. The important, nay indispensable, element of *numbers*, to exercise practically the social virtues, is wanting, and is not supplied by a few children of different ages in the same nursery; in *no* nursery is it possible to prevent selfishness, contention, and even fighting. Moreover, in the best conducted family, the children are left with servants for a longer period than the hours of an infant school,—that “*well regulated, systematic nursery*,” as it has been happily called,* where the children of ALL classes of society will be greatly benefited by spending several of their earliest years.

3d, This word ALL has raised the warmest opposition, and that from many who admit that infant schools may be beneficial to the lower classes, but maintain that all *educated* mothers ought to be the sole guides of the infant years of their children. This sounds beautifully; but let any one look around in the circle of his acquaintance and point out if he can, ten,—five,—nay, one mother qualified to communicate to her infant a tythe of the advantages he will derive from the *system* of an infant school? Why should an incogitate prejudice deprive an infant being of this mighty blessing, because he chances to be born of richer parents,—in that event a great misfortune to him,—than another who, because he is poor, is qualified to enjoy it? If it were not cer-

* By the Lord Advocate Jeffrey in his speech at the meeting when the Infant School Society of Edinburgh was formed in 1829.

tain that, when the infant education system shall come to be understood, it *must* be eagerly sought by parents of all grades in society, there would be reason to expect that, in the course of time, the class enjoying it would rise higher in character than the class rejecting it, and thereby higher in social rank. This would settle the question whether or not Infant Schools are suitable for the higher classes of society.

CHAPTER V.

ON EDUCATION AS ADAPTED TO THE FACULTIES CONTINUED.—EDUCATION SUBSEQUENT TO INFANCY.

Pupils six years old—School till fourteen—Moral training continued—Record of duties—Monitorial system—Writing—Drawing—Arithmetic—Continuation of the Mayo lessons—Incidental teaching—Incidental reading—Incidental grammar—No spelling—Lessons on chemical substances, solid, fluid, gaseous—Chemical experiments—Chemical elements—Knowledge of man in body and mind—Geography—Globe—Incidental Astronomy—Civil History—Geometry—Mechanical Science—Natural History—Incidental Natural Theology—Study of nature naturalized—Lessons on political state—Lessons on political economy—Exercise of the reflecting powers—Maxims and proverbs—Education for ALL—For peculiar talents or turns—Science taught to the young, to the working classes, to females—Educational Code—Training Teachers—Schools of Industry—American schools of manual labour—Domestic service—Ulterior education—Languages—Classics—College.

THE pupil is now six years old, and ought not to remain in the infant school after that age ; as it has been found, that the mixture of older children operates upon the younger too much in the way of influence, to the effect of diminishing the original working of the faculties. A limit should be fixed and scrupulously adhered to. At six, the pupil should be introduced to the school in which he is to find occupation till he arrives at fourteen, the age of puberty, at which age, it is submitted to be practicable that he shall have attained, besides moral habits, a sum of general elementary knowledge, sufficient as a basis, if his destination be manual labour, for farther voluntary progress as the employment of his leisure time,

as resource in any situation in which he may find himself, and as the means of applying the faculties in which he is strongest to his own advancement in the world; while the just notions of social life which he has attained will regulate his future views; and at once deliver him from the various impostors that now mislead him, and render him the enlightened and willing co-operator with yet higher intellects, in plans for the general welfare. If the pupil's destination be a pursuit above manual labour, his acquisitions, at fourteen, will form a basis on which to push yet farther the pursuits of science, and apply these to exalt the character and usefulness of his future professional line of employment.

1st, The MORAL TRAINING begun in the infant school, must not be considered as finished there. Its principles and practice ought to have a prominent influence on all the subsequent steps of education, and be held as a directing and advancing system through the whole of life. Rules should be systematically laid down for the constant exercise of benevolence, justice, and practical piety, in all the intercourse and all the business of the school; the readings and lessons should have a moral tendency; all selfishness, rudeness, coarseness, and imprecation, should be habitually reprobated in the place; and co-operation, disinterestedness, and kindness, esteemed and encouraged. The subject of morals should be made prominent, and the scriptural foundation of all its charity and brotherly love unceasingly impressed upon the pupil's mind. There is a simple, and as it may be called mechanical, aid to the teacher's precepts and the pupil's moral practice, which, printed in a cheap form, should be

in the possession of every pupil, and used by him every day of his continuance in the school beyond the stage of infancy. It is the production of a female moralist, is called *A DAILY RECORD OF DUTIES, ORGANIC, MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL*,* and has been used in families both in England and Scotland for the last three years. The duties which the Creator has constituted the conditions of human happiness are arranged according to the classes mentioned in its title ; while the details have reference to the faculties, and these are adopted according to the analysis offered in Chapter III. of this treatise. A specimen of one week of the Record as kept, will be found in the Appendix, No. V., of which each of the other fifty-one is a repetition. Every night before going to bed, the pupil's attention is called to the events of the day ; and the array of duties which demand fulfilment is pondered by him. He weighs them *all*, for guilt in one is, morally as well as religiously, guilt in all, and is inconsistent with the claim of having performed the duty of "Obedience to God," which is one of the entries ; so that if nothing else were done than securing a diurnal perusal of the names of the duties, a daily reminiscence that these *are* human obligations, actual good cannot but result. But when this help to self-examination is really and sincerely used as a regulator of conduct, the good it is capable of doing is incalculable. It might be difficult for one teacher of a numerous school, to superintend the fidelity of the entries made by the pupils in these registers ; but at least the books may be

* Published by John Anderson, jun. Edinburgh ; sold by C. Wheatston, Conduit Street, Bond Street, London.

produced to the monitors of classes, and each pupil be required to explain his entries, and state upon what act or kind of conduct he felt authorized to make them ; any thing remarkable to be reported to the teacher. Of course the record-books of the monitors themselves will fall to be revised by the teacher. What is now stated will be easily understood by a glance at the specimen in the appendix.

I need scarcely say, that the MONITORIAL SYSTEM which, from its many direct and indirect advantages, is adopted even in the infant school, should be continued in the more advanced seminary, as essential to its efficiency. On the benefits of this admirable educational improvement, which is in itself sufficient to immortalize the names of Lancaster and Bell, there is now, it is believed, scarcely a dissenting voice.

In the advanced school, which is attended for eight years, there will be not only variety of pursuit, but different grades of progress ; but there must, of course, be classes of pupils at the same stage, and learning the same matters. There may be a call for more than one teacher to answer the degrees of progress,—the infant teacher *must* be a different person from the more advanced,—but this is matter of economical arrangement, which I am not at present considering. I shall therefore proceed with the subject of educating the faculties on their objects, whatever shall be the mere machinery put in train for that purpose. WRITING must be zealously practised according to the briefest and best system yet adopted in the Lancasterian schools ; and the pupil habituated gradually to write down words on his slate, when

required, and practise with pen and ink occasionally. DRAWING is no more than writing down objects ; and its principles, to the extent of sketching objects presented, ought to be taught in the writing class ; for allied branches should be practised together. Design and painting are for those gifted with the talent required ; but every pupil should be able to form on his slate such objects as a square, a cube, a tree, a house, a machine, &c. in correct drawing and perspective. ARITHMETIC, which has been well grounded in the infant school, by means of visible and tangible numbers, should proceed with its calculations and applications, according to the abridged and clever system of Mr Wood, of the Lancasterian schools, or Pestalozzi's method, as may be found to succeed best*.

The Pestalozzian LESSONS ON OBJECTS of Dr Mayo, it will be recollected, were left unfinished, as the remainder was considered beyond the stage of the infant school. The fifth and last series of forty-nine lessons affords practice in combination. Each object is presented, as before, to the pupils, who make their own observations upon it. They are then interrogated as to what they know concerning the substance ; and all the information which can be obtained from them is collected by the teacher, who may communicate any farther particulars on the subject, calculated to interest or instruct. The materials thus obtained should be arranged, and repeated to them ; after which the class should be examined upon all that has passed ; and, finally, required to draw up a

* I have much pleasure in referring to Mr Biber's " Life of Pestalozzi," (Souter, St Paul's Church Yard), which contains a summary on this and all other points.

written account themselves. Children from eight to ten years of age have derived great improvement from this exercise. It not only serves to stimulate their attention during the progress of the lesson, but also furnishes a test of their having well understood it, and leads them to express their ideas with clearness and facility. In this course, the substance should be exhibited both in its raw and manufactured state. Thus in the lesson of Flax, the plant itself, the fibres when separated from the stem, the thread when spun, and the various substances into which it is made, may be brought before the pupils, and likewise models of the machinery employed in these operations. The first lesson of this series impresses the origin, appearance, qualities, preparation, and uses of Leather ; and this includes oak-bark, lime-water, alkali, &c. The second lesson treats of Cork in the same way, and tells where it is produced. The succeeding lessons are on India Rubber, Sponge (for many of the objects were presented before for a less extensive description), Camphor, Horn, Shell-lac, Wax-candles,—which brings in capillary attraction, Glue, Coffee, Tea, Sago, Rice, Paper,—with a long lesson on its manufacture ; Parchment, Glass, Whalebone, Bread, Sugar, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Wool, Silk, Court-Plaster, Saffron, Butter, Cheese, Putty, Starch, Felt, and Porcelain. Many others might be added.

The 33d lesson introduces the Metals, with the following observations:—" In these lessons on the common metals, it is necessary to present the specimens to the class in their several natural and artificial states ; that is to say, the native ores and the manufactured

metals. The teacher would find the interest of the pupils awakened by the examination of the several substances, and consequently would find them more inclined to receive, with profit, the information conveyed. The plan of writing down the list of qualities is again adopted with the metals, as they lead to a new range of ideas, and forming very decidedly the characteristic distinctions of the substances." The first metal treated of is Gold. It is a perfect metal, malleable, ductile, tenacious, heavy, fusible, incombustible except by electricity. A solid piece of gold, and a piece of gold-leaf, are shewn; the almost incredible ductility of gold explained; and its resistance to all acids but aqua regia, a mixture of the muriatic and nitric acids. Of course, at this stage, such ideas as electricity and chemical acids, must be anticipated, the pupils being promised a subsequent acquaintance with them. Then come the uses of gold in coinage and ornament, as lace, gilding of metals and porcelain, the mode of beating it out, &c. The lesson concludes with the geographical localities of the metal, and its geological and mining description. In this way are treated, in successive lessons, illustrated by exhibition, Silver, Mercury—with the Thermometer and Barometer—Lead, Copper, Iron, Steel, Cast-iron, and Tin.

The 40th lesson compares metals with each other, which brings in the doctrine, illustrated practically, of specific gravity.

The 41st lesson, one of much interest, is on the attributes of metals in general; their metallic lustre, sonorousness, weight, ductility, tenacity; their combinations and alloys in metallurgy, or the working of metals. This

is followed by questions on all the metals, as an exercise. What are the chief qualities and properties of gold, silver, &c.? How is gold beaten out? How are buttons gilt? What is lunar caustic? What are the specific gravities of gold, silver, tin, lead, &c.

The 42d lesson takes up the Earths; Lime and its many combinations, animal, vegetable, and mineral; Alumine or Argil, with all its applications, in bricks, pottery, &c. to the use of man. The remaining lessons are on Coal, Granite, Salt, Slate, and Coral.

I have been thus minute, I trust not tedious, from my conviction that a summary of the whole system is necessary to its due appreciation. Of this I do feel assured, that the pupils will not weary of it; but that, connected as it ought to be, with a well ventilated school-room and exercising ground, with active gymnastics, varied with other studies to be mentioned, and communicated by the teacher in a friendly, cheerful, and exciting manner, it will be a delight to the young students; put the barbarous artificial stimulants of punishments, place-taking, medals, and prizes, for ever out of fashion, and render these matter of curious history to the better taught pupil, associated with the foolish methods of education, which, however incredible it may be to him, did once prevail in society. It is plain that all the intellectual faculties have their turn of exercise in these five series of lessons, that exercise constituting high enjoyment, and being, from its very nature, inexhaustible.

Continuing the process of INCIDENTAL READING, all the words and descriptions of the objects in the different series should be presented in a printed and written form

to the pupils ; thus their reading would be improved ; and, by the time the whole lessons are finished, which may require perhaps a year or more, the pupils, assisted by occasional reading in classes under monitors, may easily have attained the power of reading any English book. GRAMMAR, by parsing, should be incidentally taught. Mr Biber has shewn the Pestalozzian course concisely and clearly, and to his work I must be contented with a reference. It is obvious that, by the incidental method, knowledge of an object and its qualities, its name pronounced, read, and written down, its description read and parsed, are occupations and exercises all proceeding at the same time, and actually aiding each other. In the connection of nature's parts in one harmonious whole, to teach incidentally is to teach naturally. The saving of time and labour must be so obvious, and the unity and co-operation of intellectual exercise so advantageous, that a judicious and extensive application of the INCIDENTAL METHOD seems indispensable to the success of popular education. The pupils ought not to be tasked and annoyed with the absurdity of that laborious and generally abortive exercise, LEARNING TO SPELL. They do not need to spell till they come to write ; and spelling is never attained by the common school process, but by habitual perusal of the words in reading. No one who reads much can remain a bad orthographer, and no one writes much who has not previously read much more.

Although, from Dr Mayo's series of lessons, a large field of qualities in nature has been gone through, there ought to follow an introduction to the primary substances of material nature as ascertained by CHEMISTRY ; and les-

sons on the presence and combination of these substances in the articles or objects already submitted to the pupil's consideration. Another period of school should accordingly be devoted to a minute and thorough practical familiarity with substances in nature, solid, fluid, and gaseous, so that the pupil may know them as well as he is now made to know the tenses of a verb, or the declensions of a noun. The progress from the substance to their relations, combinations, and results in chemistry, is easy and natural, so that a broad and useful foundation of chemical knowledge may be laid at an age when little more than Latin words are, by the present system, stored up; and it will take a better and more permanent hold of the memory than Latin words are found to do. Experiments will impress the varieties of chemical action, namely, attraction, cohesion, crystallization, combination, decomposition, the nature and effects of heat, &c. the gases, the acids, the alkalies, the earths, the metals, the chemistry of vegetable and animal substances; in short, the *elements* of chemistry may be fully and lastingly communicated.

Before proceeding farther with external nature, it appears that this would be the proper time to introduce the pupils to a subject hitherto unheard of in schools, and misunderstood in colleges, AND THAT SUBJECT IS THEMSELVES. Without this all else is useless. Why should the teacher stop with the five senses? Why should not the pupil, who has reached nine or ten years of age, begin to know the faculties of his mind? Is there any thing in those, for example, which have been detailed in this treatise, which may not be made as plain to him as the lessons on objects and their qualities? There is no

need for leading him deeply into metaphysical inquiry on the functions of his faculties : a simple elementary knowledge of them and their every-day modes of operation, above all, their inseparable connection with their related objects, might be impressed on his mind in such a manner as not only to be perfectly comprehended by him, but firmly impressed on his memory, and applied in his ordinary experience. This branch should constitute a paramount object of concern with the teacher ; he should spare no pains to put his pupils completely and intelligently in possession of it. The transition will be easy from the analysis of the faculties to their ethical combination, made plain to the young in their daily intercourse. I have seen the experiment tried on children under twelve years of age with the most flattering success ; they have manifested a knowledge and estimate of motives, and a readiness in appreciating, and even regulating conduct, far above what the great mass of the “ educated ” ever dreamed of being necessary to intelligent existence. The same children, it must farther be observed, kept a faithful register of their own conduct, by entries in the “ Record of Duties,” already referred to.

As a part of themselves, the pupils may, with great ease and advantage, be familiarized with the *general* structure of THEIR OWN BODIES, the functions of the digestive and other organs, which bear the most obvious relation to the preservation of health and strength ; while uncleanly and unwholesome habits may be set prominently before their eyes, with their effects on health and life fully spread out to their view. For example, the effects of excessive indulgence in ardent spirits might, by draw-

ings and preparations, be so plainly pourtrayed, and so often pressed on the notice, as to afford a lesson, available for life; so that if the individual should sin in after years, he should not sin in ignorance. The habitual recommendation, accompanied with reasons and expositions of consequences referable to the organic laws, of cleanly and wholesome habits in ablutions, ventilation, &c., will soon tell practically on the pupils, and a great change will be effected even among the working classes*.

All this time the course is proceeding of instruction in GEOGRAPHY, the use of the globes, and the simpler elements of ASTRONOMY; so that at least the planetary system shall be made perfectly familiar. The pupil certainly should not leave school ignorant of the simpler phenomena of the heavens; and this knowledge can be given incidentally to or following up geography. He should understand and see illustrated, by the planetarium and orrery, the relation of the Earth and the other planets to the Sun, and of the Moon and Earth to each other; he should be aware of the rotation of the earth, at the rate of 1000 miles an hour at the equator, and its course round an orbit of 584 millions of miles in a year; being 1,600,000 miles a-day, 66,600 in an hour, 1100 in a minute, and 18 in a second;

* Dr Andrew Combe, in his "Principles of Physiology," a work which cannot be too strongly recommended to every family and school in the empire, suggests to manufacturers to establish for their workmen the means of bathing. If time were given them they will willingly bathe, and will enjoy cleanliness, healthy skin, and less craving for the stimulus of spirits. The waste hot water of a steam-engine would give them easily the means of warm bathing once or twice a-week. This was actually done at the Lochrin Distillery, near Edinburgh, during the prevalence of Cholera.

he should be informed of the course of comets,—the phases of the moon,—the solar and lunar eclipses,—the calculations of time,—the ecliptic and seasons,—the vast distance of the fixed stars, and the immensity of creation. No kind of knowledge more tends to expand the ideas of Omnipotence than astronomy, and to dispel limited and unworthy impressions of the Creator; no one should be ignorant that space is necessarily infinite, because there can be no point of space without a point beyond it; that our instruments have discovered eighty millions of fixed stars, every star a sun, probably with attendant planets invisible to us, but, it may be, ten times eighty, or 800 millions in number; when, after all, if space be infinite and replenished with orbs in a proportionate degree with that part of it within our ken, the 80 millions of suns and 800 millions of planets, must be relatively but a speck in creation, whose annihilation would be an event of relative insignificance*.

Writing and calculating will continue to be practised; and English reading, with attention to its grammar, and even to its elocution; for, in a well conducted system, several advantages may be reaped from one and the same act of instruction. The Scriptures will of course be read. CIVIL HISTORY should not be omitted in our seminary; but in the manner in which it should be rendered a *study*, it is decidedly for riper years. I should recommend little more, under and at puberty, than a

* Mr Fulton, in exhibiting his beautiful orrery, impresses the relative magnitude of the Earth and Sun on the spectators, by stating that the ball representing the earth being 2 inches diameter, the brass globe for the sun would require to be 19 feet.

chronological skeleton of it, that the pupil may know the tribes and nations that peopled the earth before his own time, with a very general account of them ; and certainly, for reasons to be stated in the sequel, as little of the *details* of their history as possible, or just as much as shall suffice to mark and distinguish each people. How history ought to be written and studied, will itself form the subject of a short chapter immediately after the present.

In our pursuit of nature, the relations of GEOMETRY, without which a mason or carpenter cannot take a step in his trade, are well worthy of a portion of the pupil's attention. There is no occasion to go deep into mathematics ; but some knowledge, in addition to that of elementary figures, imparted in the infant school,—of angles, triangles, squares, parallelograms, perpendiculars, horizontals, &c., of the relations of these, and of the demonstration of these relations, may be given to the more advanced classes of our seminary. The grand object with regard to all these branches of study ought to be,—and the aid of able men will be necessary to sketch out the plan for each,—to render the teaching of the subject or science elementarily broad and comprehensive, leaving minute details for after voluntary study. For example, in geometry, the study should not be some books of Euclid, and then a stop, but a general notion of the science as applied to planes and solids, as a basis for after detailed study ; but sufficient to render the subject intelligible, and of easy application to the avocations of future life, in surveying, carpentry, &c., and easily extended when more minute information is wanted.

Provided with the elements of geometry, the pupil,

probably now in his second last or last year, is prepared for practical lessons in the elements of MECHANICAL SCIENCE. Nothing can be of easier or more delightful acquisition, and nothing is more common, than for young persons of from twelve to fourteen eagerly to pursue the study, and perfectly comprehend it. Lessons, with illustrative experiments, will be given on the mechanical properties of matter, its extension, impenetrability, divisibility, porosity, gravity, inertia,—on gravitation and cohesion,—on statics, equilibrium, composition and resolution of forces, and the science of the centres of gravity, percussion and oscillation,—on mechanics and the mechanical powers,—on the strength and strain of materials, and the principles of carpentry,—on dynamics, motion, falling bodies, the pendulum, clocks, &c.—on central forces,—on hydrostatics, fluidity, pressure of fluids, conducting of water from a distance, &c.—on hydraulics or the power of water, water-wheels, &c.—on pneumatics and the practical applications of the elasticity of the air, air-pumps, water-pumps, syphon, &c.—on acoustics and the philosophy of sound,—on optics, colours, reflection, refraction, lenses, telescope and microscope,—on electricity, galvanism, and magnetism,—on the steam-engine, &c. Well conducted experiments will both impress the truths and increase their interest.

The foregoing enumeration is minute, that the reader may have under his eye the kind of knowledge comprised in mechanical science, and judge how important it is to resource in life. Likewise that he may judge whether there is any thing in it which may not be taught to the young. There is no part of the study so intricate

or difficult as a Greek verb, to say nothing of its intrinsic attractions.

The time allotted to school may be made to include an elementary knowledge of NATURAL HISTORY, or nature's external features, either preceding or following the study of nature's secrets, as they are called, in chemistry and mechanical philosophy. It is a common, and not an ill-founded opinion, that natural history is better understood with the aid of the other sciences mentioned. The pupil, in this branch, will learn to distinguish the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, the atmosphere and its phenomena, the winds, the ocean with its tides and currents, the discoveries of geology, the nature of animals and plants, &c.

Blended essentially with the whole of the branches of knowledge now enumerated, and capable of being imparted incidentally with an effect at once edifying and delightful, is NATURAL THEOLOGY. The teacher ought to be perfectly qualified to impress that important knowledge, as he enlightens his pupil on the Creator's works, with all their benevolent adaptations. He would require to return to these works were he to teach natural theology as a separate branch; so that he will save that repetition, and teach the subject better, besides commanding yet another means of impressing more efficiently natural knowledge itself, by pointing to the agency and design of the Creator as the key-note to the entire composition of his instructions, the diapason to all the harmonies of nature which science unfolds, the highest and best end and object of the application of our faculties to the attainment of truth. It is in relation to the Great

Artificer, that universal nature grows upon our opening eyes as one exquisitely harmonious system. It is man that divides nature's phenomena into branches of study, and calls them chemistry, mechanical philosophy, natural history. Nature has no such divisions; her laws proceed in exquisite order and beauty, independently of the artificial mode in which man observes them; while the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Creator inhere in every part of the great system, and illumine and gild, as they make plain, its stupendous fabric. It is in this beautiful, this essential, this necessary way, that the pupils of our school *must* become natural theologists; and adding to that knowledge, or rather that habit or frame of mind, an improved *moral*, their preparation for Christian instruction will, as far as human means can make it, be complete.

There will be an immense advance when knowledge is thus simplified and referred to Nature, and not considered as existing only within the walls of colleges, known by conventional names, and taught to full grown men alone, whom it is meant to distinguish from all others by the name of philosophers. *Every sane person ought to know the obvious works of God, and modes of his manifestation*; and every person may become acquainted with these in youth, with ease and pleasure.

Incidentally, throughout the whole time of the pupil in the school, and particularly in the latter years of his attendance, he should receive much and anxious instruction on the subject of his POLITICAL STATE, and his position as a member of the social system. There is no greater novelty in education than this; hitherto there has

been an utter blank here. The elder pupils should be perfectly familiar with their social rights and duties, the principles and simpler practice of the constitution and government, the functions of representative and of electors, the nature and powers of judicial establishments, the trial by jury, and the functions of magistrates, justices of the peace, and officers of the law, of all ranks and degrees. There is nothing in all this that a boy of twelve years of age may not comprehend and store up as knowledge, as easily as he would translate Cæsar. The knowledge should be given him in a series of lessons, and his progress ascertained by repeated examinations; and when he shall come to exercise his rights as a citizen, his early elementary training will be of great value to him.

LESSONS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY, the nature and principles of trade, commerce, manufactures, and money, will follow elementary views of political condition. Liberal relations may then be inculcated, and all the self-defeating prejudice and selfishness of dealing among nations and individuals anticipated and prevented. National antipathies ought to be especially reprobated. There are a few plain principles of political economy of which no individual ought to be ignorant, such as the balance of demand and supply, the doctrine of wages, of employer and workman, the economy of labour, the division of labour, the effect of competition, of over-trading, of machinery, of poor-laws, and pauperism with all its degradation when not induced by unavoidable misfortune, &c. Miss Martineau is immortalized by her ingenious and exciting method of recommending this hitherto esteemed dry subject. She has shewn that

political economy mingles intimately with every-day life, and that its results can form the basis of narratives of great interest. I know of no way in which the subject could be better taught than by a course of that singular lady's small volumes, with her summary of principles in the last pages of each ; every principle is connected with its application to reality, and remembered the better for that connexion : the student at our school would not merely read the volumes as tales, but would be made to dwell on each as lessons, and treasure up every incident and every principle for use in after life.

There are some questions upon the whole system, which the reader may feel inclined to ask. 1st, In the foregoing exposition of education as adapted to the faculties, he may have thought that the Knowing powers alone have been provided for. To that I answer, that they have mainly, for the period of education treated of is the period of their greatest activity, the time to sow broadly and abundantly the seed of knowledge. But the REFLECTING POWERS have not been idle ; every day and every hour of the day, opportunities of exercising these, in comparison and necessary consequence, must occur, and the judicious teacher will never omit the occasion of doing so, and encouraging in his pupils, manifestations of good sense and sagacity, another word for the reflective process. He ought to be " full of wise saws and modern instances," that is, he should be able to test an occurrence, and clench an advice, with a maxim or proverb : this mode of rendering wisdom readily available has been subject to unmerited reproach, as a vulgar habit ; this is nonsense ; nothing is vulgar that is truly

useful ; it may be unnecessary, and therefore annoying, to repeat obvious maxims upon all occasions to those who know them as well as the repeater, in the way that Sancho distinguished himself ; but a store of them in the mind for use and application, not for display—and there are several good selections published,—will be found of great practical value.

2*d*, The reader may farther ask, is the above curriculum to be passed through by ALL pupils, without regard to the differences of talent, turns, and capabilities ? The answer to this is affirmative. Whatever may be the particular power of mind or aptitude of body which points out a marked line for an individual's future life, no one will surely say, that he is to have no other education but on that specific object ; for example, music, painting, sculpture, mechanics, classics. If his particular talent has not absorbed all the rest of his mind, which would render him a cretin or idiot with one faculty working like an instinct, he has other faculties to be educated ; he has, in truth, all the faculties, and it does not require the highest degree of endowment of them to follow out all the branches of education, instrumentary and real, which have been allotted, both to our infant and advanced school. His particular talent will not be diminished but aided by his general acquirements ; his Creator has given him *all* his talents for use, and the education now proposed is the very use of them, as pointed out by their nature and relations, which has been designed. All should, if possible, be brought up to one elevated level of knowledge and morality ; and from that advanced position genius may take its new and higher flight. No-

thing will more tend to bring out that genius into bold relief than the school training now proposed ; so that there will be no searching about for it at the period of puberty. No previous time will then have been lost, and the start to farther attainments in the marked line of the special talent, will be immediate, well directed, and energetic. No provision can or ought to be made for particular lines in the general seminary. The schools for particular talents must and ought to be subsequent apprenticeship to the pursuits respectively. I do not anticipate any difficulty on this head when the subject is so plain ; and, therefore, with the reader's permission, shall leave it.

3d, It may be again asked, is it not extravagant to expect that so much educational work, as has been laid out for the advanced seminary, can be done, at least to purpose, at so early an age as from six to fourteen ? To this it is answered, that there is no extravagance in expecting that that shall be done, for the accomplishment of which we have both principle and experience. The faculties are competent at the age in question to achieve that for which they were given to man, and then most pointedly rendered acute and active. As this is a most important question, and one which has the highest and strongest barriers of old habits of thinking to overleap, the reader is earnestly requested to apply his reflecting powers attentively and impartially to it ; keeping in view that, if it be impracticable to educate up to the point proposed in eight years, from six to fourteen, all idea of *popular* education must be abandoned. If ignorance prevails, to the admitted extent of a blank, on the important subject of the human faculties, there is no wonder that the

mental capabilities of children have been erroneously estimated. The training to which they are at present subjected, not only does nothing to call out their faculties, but sends them to sleep in a drowsy system of reading and spelling words ; so that they suffer that diminution of activity and force, for life, which unexercised nerves and muscles entail on the bodily frame. It was to be expected, that when we well nigh annihilate the faculties of children, we should doubt their existence.

The sagacious active Wilderspin has thrown a flood of light on this hitherto obscure question. *His* infants manifest, at six years of age, the knowing, and to some extent the reflecting faculties, far beyond the pupils of the common schools, at double their age. In his work on infant education, he notices the profound ignorance which prevails on the capacities of infants, and has made good his right to do so by the irrefragable facts he advances, from his own fifteen years' experience. Much of the useful knowledge desiderated is obtained in the infant school, and four years saved which at present are worse than lost ; and when the pupil passes on to the advanced seminary, which is constituted on the principle of systematic progress, the degree of his exertions and the extent of his acquisitions cannot be conceived by those who have only witnessed the drawling waste of time which, in most schools, for there are exceptions, is called children's education *. Again, there is nothing in the *whole* course of our advanced school which may not be perfectly understood and practically applied by pupils from twelve to

* One of these exceptions, for there are several, is the Circus-Place School in Edinburgh, where *realities* are taught.

fourteen ; and making provision, as is proposed, for gradations of occupation, there is *much* for which the age from ten to twelve is perfectly well adapted ; while there are *divisions of employment* for the other two periods, of from eight to ten, and six to eight. Classical difficulties, far beyond the simple exposition of natural truths, are mastered by boys of ten or twelve years of age, if the stimulants of prizes and punishments—there are no other motives—are rendered sufficiently pungent. There is nothing in the facts of creation, illustrated to the senses by experiment, which is not of as easy comprehension as the objects and arrangements of a boy's voluntary amusements ; he adapts his fishing-tackle to the conditions of angling ; he studies the weather, the stream, the habits of the fish, and many other circumstances, and can instruct others in their practical application : he is a master, too, in the natural history of rabbits, pigeons, and pets in general ; he gets up a private theatre, paints the scenes, and writes the pieces ; his spot of ground is the best kept and most productive in his father's garden ; and for mischief and fun, he can lay a train of circumstances, moral and physical, which, when he comes to spring his mine upon the devoted wight for whose peculiar benefit he has taken so much trouble and expended so much genius, he has often done more than if, engaged in practical chemistry under Dr Reid,* he had finished a set of glass-retorts with a blowpipe, and applied them in

* I allude to this distinguished chemist's large and scientifically constructed laboratory in Edinburgh, unequalled in Europe, for practice in chemistry, in which every pupil performs nearly 2000 experiments with his own hands. Dr Reid was, moreover, the first, here, to give chemical instruction to young people, as I have good access to know. He has had

a dozen chemical experiments. In short, although the reflecting powers are in frequent requisition incidentally in our curriculum, the knowing are chiefly in exercise in storing up knowledge and gaining address, and there is no period of life when *they* are in greater vigour than at and about puberty. It will not be a smattering which will be gained,—another objection ;—it is forgotten that, besides the infant school *grounding*, eight years are proposed to be devoted to the advanced school course. Under competent instructors no branch will be permitted to be superficially attained ; there is time, and there ought to be means, to render the acquisition of each subject complete up to the pitch of the pupil's powers. It is under the present system that every thing is superficial, smattering, and forgotten. Another prejudice arises from our erroneous habits of thinking ; we associate science, even in its restricted sense of knowledge of nature, with manhood. We have been accustomed to see it the pursuit of the advanced students of College, and therefore conclude that manhood alone is competent to it. It is easy to see why it has become the occupation of manhood : under the old system, the dead languages absurdly took its place at the period which nature points out for it ; and this is precisely the waste of time which is deplored. When a new and better system shall prove the perfect capability of the young for scientific attainments, (these being divested of all the quackery and

pupils younger than fourteen who made efficient progress under his tuition ; and he has assured me of the perfect success of that early study. Not only chemistry but mechanical philosophy have been partially introduced into some grammar schools, in deference to the demands of the age.

mystery through which we have been accustomed to view them, and called plainly and properly knowledge of nature, in its simple beauty and most obvious harmony,) our habits of thinking will be greatly improved on this important subject. But the question is not limited to an *a priori* argument; the trial has been made in various establishments to be afterwards mentioned, and the success has been fully up to what on principle might have been expected. *It cannot be too earnestly impressed on the attention of educationists, and of the legislature, that an early introduction to nature is the life and soul—the sine qua non—of popular education.*

4th, Many may be inclined, on reflection and the conviction of demonstration, to surrender their ancient association of natural knowledge with manhood, who yet may be positively impracticable upon the wild theory of teaching all that has been proposed to *all ranks* of the people. This is really too much, they say; What occasion can a man, who is to work at a handicraft trade, have for a course of chemistry, mechanical philosophy, or natural history? Will it make him a better tailor, carpenter, blacksmith? Will it not, on the contrary, tend to raise his ideas of life, and tempt him to despise labour, and be discontented with his condition? The answer to all this, humbly offered, is, that it will materially improve and facilitate his trade; but it will do much more,—it will elevate his character, improve his social condition, and render him both a better and a happier man. A scientific knowledge of nature will suggest to the manual labourer improved and abridged modes of working, counteraction of unwholesome trades, in materials, posture,

atmosphere, &c. ; it will shew him the value of cleanly habits, fresh air, and muscular exercise, and the physical suffering resulting from excess, vice, and especially the abuse of ardent spirits. It will elevate the character of the labourer, for it will humanize him, improve the furniture of his mind, by substituting truth and interesting subjects of thought for superstitions, prejudices, and all sorts of impracticabilities ; deliver him out of the hands of impostors, political, fanatical, medical, and literary ; qualify him for a wise use of the elective franchise, if he shall rise to be a householder ; afford him delightful employment for his leisure from toil ; exalt his impressions of his God, and render his religion sincere and practical. If he is to spend several years at school, if he is not to be set at once to learn the kind of toil called his trade, and doomed, all beyond, to deepest ignorance, what better can he learn than the objects of nature, and his own relation to them ? At the least, he is no worse for this improved store in his mind, the acquisition of which has been a source of delight to his earlier years, and has effected a decided melioration of his general character.

The objection that his mind will be too refined for his pursuits, and that he will be discontented, is not less unreflecting. It is the ignorant who are discontented, who have false views of their condition, who are unable to reject the representations of the designing, that have an interest in creating discontent, and moving violence. Deep discontent prevails at this moment among the working classes in spite of all their ignorance ; nay it is their ignorance which is the barrier to the removal of their discontent. Knowledge of nature, and their own

relation to it, of their true place in the social system, of the means of greatly improving their own enjoyments, physical, moral, and intellectual, of the truth that well regulated labour is no evil, but is capable of being rendered a source of health and pleasure, that the sum of goods accumulated and annually produced, equally divided, would afford but a moderate portion to each individual of an immense population, that, therefore, in the nature of things, a very few can attain to riches, and that riches, after all, do not purchase more real happiness than the reward of labour can procure to the contented mind ;—all this knowledge operating as a permanent frame of mind and habit of thinking, will shew to the working man the absurdity of envying and hating all superior fortune, and living, as he now does, but will not do when more enlightened, in avowed and almost irreconcilable hostility to all above him in condition. Those who urge that discontent will result from knowledge, would no doubt wish the times of vassalage and popery restored, when the ignorant peasant was the passive slave of his liege-lord and his priest ; but as in the course of human progress this is as much out of the question as restoring the fourteenth century, the question comes to be, what is the course *now*, in the actual state of the people ? If they are not contented in their ignorance, the effect of their enlightenment is surely worth a trial : and the human faculties were created in vain, if the experiment should be found to fail.

Perhaps the greatest novelty in this volume, next to the proposition of teaching the science of man, is that of training the manual-labour class to a knowledge of nature.

I earnestly beg that it may not be hastily rejected upon present impressions ; for it will be found to be a powerful engine of popular improvement. Dr Drummond,* in his “ Letters to a young Naturalist on the Study of Nature and Natural Theology,” says,—“ You will perhaps treat the idea of teaching matters of science to people generally as chimerical ; but be not over hasty. It is still too common a persuasion that knowledge should be a monopoly, belonging solely to the learned and highly educated ; but there is a vast fund of information of the very highest value, which can be understood by persons who have had little previous tutoring either in school or university. There is a vast mass of knowledge which admits of easy explanation, and which could be comprehended by men of the most moderate education ; *and why is it withheld from them ?* Is the sun still to shine in the heavens, the planets to roll in their orbits, the comets to shoot beyond imagination’s wing into the regions of space, and the constellations to sparkle for ever in the canopy of night ; and yet our brethren of the human race, a very small portion excepted, know no more about them than merely that they are the sun and stars ? Will it be said that the great truths of astronomy can only be made plain to the understandings of those who are profound mathematicians and philosophers ? There are lengths in every science, indeed, which can only be gained by long and deep study, but although it required a Newton to unfold the mysteries of the planetary motions, as guided and controlled by the

* Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Belfast Academy. (Longman, London.)

law of gravitation, still these motions, and most of the sublime facts of astronomy, can be comprehended by the bulk of the people from plain illustrations, given in plain and perspicuous language. But of this and of nature in general, they are kept in deep ignorance. Simple truths, when simply explained, are more easily comprehended than is commonly supposed ; and I feel satisfied that the task of teaching mankind in general, such solid and various knowledge as could tend most powerfully to advance both civilization and morality, is any thing but hopeless. Knowledge has been truly said by Bacon to be power ; and with equal, if not with greater, truth, it may be asserted, that when pursued with a reference to the God of all knowledge, it is virtue."

5th, Suppose all our objectors satisfied on the points already treated of, it is not to be expected that there will not remain many more who will treat with ridicule the idea of proposing, with slight modifications, the same education for females as for males, from two years of age to fourteen. If they shall ask why should this be ? I would throw the burden of proof on them, and ask in turn, why should it not be ? Why should the faculties of females, which are the same as the faculties of males, be deprived of the intellectual food which is intended for them ? If the cultivation of these faculties shall elevate the male character, will it not likewise elevate the female, and, through the elevation of the female character, unspeakably benefit society ? All the *moral* training proposed for the one sex will be granted to be proper and necessary for the other, but not less is the intellectual ; a proposition, it is humbly thought, too self-evi-

dent to need illustration. I shall therefore say no more on the subject, till I shall meet with reasons for continuing the mockery of education which is given to females, more cogent than that it has always been the good old way*. I have much pleasure in referring to an eloquent address by Mrs Willard to the Legislature of New York, on the subject of female education. It contains a severe satire on the *dominant* sex for *their* share in female degradation.

To gain the great object in view, it will afterwards be shewn that, by national arrangements, the *whole* period of twelve years must be devoted by the children of the manual-labour class to school education. Earlier *engrossing* labour must, by every possible means, be discouraged and prevented. Without this, the time actually bestowed will be lost, and harm instead of good will be done.

Two requisites,—neither of them yet in existence,—must be realized in order to the success of the novel course of education which has now been proposed,—and these are BOOKS AND TEACHERS. There is talent, knowledge, and judgment in the country, to frame the one and train the other. Committed to several qualified men, with principles and plan well marked out for their guidance, AN EDUCATIONAL CODE might be drawn up,

* An unreflecting outcry has been raised, on the score of indelicacy, against imparting the knowledge of physiology to females, although on them devolves the *earliest* care of human health. The most sensitive female who, among at least 100, heard Mr Brown's attractive and eloquent lectures on this subject, delivered this winter in Edinburgh, and saw his *drawings* of the vital organs, will agree with me (for I attended the course), in declaring, that there was not the shadow of indelicacy,—except in the outcry.

which, instead of the miserable diversity which now prevails, would secure uniformity all over the country, and limit the subjects of study to useful elements, applicable to the affairs of life, or capable of being made the basis of farther attainments. The whole curriculum might be laid out, almost to every day's employment, lessons and experiments directed, and the teacher himself prevented from wasting time in unauthorised instruction.

The training of teachers is vital to the whole system. At present any one who professes to teach is *eo ipso* believed qualified ; when every other trade fails, one can always open a school ! When we consider what the qualifications of an efficient teacher ought to be, this state of matters will appear in all its glaring absurdity. A crazy and ragged orator some time ago applied at the mansion-house for a few shillings and a pair of shoes, to take him *back* to Ireland, seeing he had found the pretensions of this island to learning exceedingly hollow. In his harangue to the Lord Mayor he observed, with exquisite and most appropriate sarcasm, “ that he had heard much of the schoolmaster being abroad in England, but that he had not had the good fortune to find any body who had met with him ! ” Wiser men make the same complaint, not from the difficulty of meeting the schoolmaster, but from the uselessness of the schoolmaster when he is fallen in with. Besides *educating the schoolmaster*, we must raise him in society to the rank and endowments befitting his usefulness. The humble estimation of that profession at present arises from the prevalent feeling of their slender claims to consideration. A teacher qualified to conduct such a seminary as has been described, is entitled to a

high social place, and he must and will take it. I have alluded here to the requisite of teacher-training, though not strictly in place, in order to remove a grand obstacle to the reception of the principles propounded: as part of the machinery of a practical plan, the subject belongs to another chapter.

I have found some difficulty in forming an opinion of the expediency of industry-training, either engrafted upon, or separate from, the seminary which I have described. Highly as I am disposed to think of the School of Industry at Lewes, in Sussex, and the American Manual-Labour Schools, described in Woodbridge's *American Annals of Education and Instruction* (1830-31), I am very doubtful of their compatibility with the curriculum of moral and intellectual training proposed in this chapter. In neither plan is the same kind or degree of education proposed for the working-classes, which has now been detailed as practicable and essential to their moral and intellectual elevation. If schools of industry are apprenticeships to trades, it is plain they are superfluous, as well as inefficient—the best apprenticeship being to a master of the trade, to be engaged in after the school period is finished. It was never clear that the pupils of Fellenberg were fitted for ordinary life by all the formal arrangements for their labour at Hofwyl. A certain degree of elementary labour might be engrafted upon our advanced seminary, and resorted to as a mode of exercise, in a piece of ground for the purpose; the mode of handling particular implements and instruments might be practised, and a ready conversion of common materials into ordinary accommodations, an exercise rather for the

non-manual labourer of after life, who will have no other opportunity, than for the intended manual labourer who is destined for an apprenticeship ; but available to all as a means of health. The only occupation of the manual labour class for which there is no apprenticeship, is that of *domestic service*, in all its parts. Separate establishments for servants of both sexes would be very desirable, the public refusing to engage as servants any one not so trained. At all events, as schools for training to labour do not necessarily form part of a plan of national education, I deem it unnecessary to proceed farther with that subject. A library should belong to each school.

ULTERIOR EDUCATION.

The pupil has now left the advanced school, at fourteen years of age ; and, in relation to a system of *popular* education, we must take our leave of him. He goes to manual labour, or a preparation for it ; but he is still within the influence of an enlightened press, in cheap literature, and of lectures on science for his leisure hours. The Edinburgh Association for cheap lectures is an admirable *continuance* of the workman's improvement. (See Append. No. VI.) Or the youth is to be fitted for professional, philosophical, literary, legislative, or commercial avocations. A more extended education will require languages ; and, at fourteen, they will be quickly acquired, by a concentrated effort directed mainly to them for one or two years. More will be done in the acquisition of Latin and Greek, at this age than at an earlier ; and it is not a new proposition to postpone them to that period. I have been assured by judicious teachers of those languages, that this is confirmed by experience. (See Append. No. IV.)

What "College" ought to be, as a yet higher station of intellectual and moral ascent, must now be obvious. It ought to be mainly a school of the higher intellectual powers, the combining and reasoning faculties of man. Much of the knowledge upon which these faculties act will be brought from the previous schools ; and a sound logic, a practical ethics, a simple theory of legislation, and a fruit-bearing political economy, will establish themselves in the mind, almost without an effort, and with the most delightful reality of application. Recognised principles will take the place of endless controversy, and human affairs will present themselves in harmonious simplicity, instead of inextricable confusion. Composition will then be usefully practised. The Faculties, as they are called, of Law, Medicine, and Theology, greatly purified and improved by a sound philosophy, will of course have their respective Chairs in a complete and well regulated University. Such would be a complete course of education, and all attainable by the age of twenty-one. The individual will not, as now, require to begin, at that age, to educate himself, and then most imperfectly, in the elements of knowledge ; he is ready to advance unretarded in an onward course of observation and reflective combination, and a practical consultation of his own good and the good of his species, which will render the education of man, in a more enlarged sense, commensurate with his life's duration.

CHAPTER VI.

ON A JUST ESTIMATE OF CIVIL HISTORY, AS A STUDY
FOR YOUTH.

History as an advanced study.—Just views of it.—A chronicle of the animal propensities.—Characteristics of antiquity.—Fall of empires when natural.—Details hurtful to youth.—Patriot heroism.—Passion for war.—Martial glory applauded and rewarded.—Internal polity of antiquity.—Asia and Egypt.—Monotony of propensities.—Tyrannies, caprices, and childishnesses.—“Free” states of antiquity, Greece, and Rome.—No recognised principle of liberty.—Ingratitude to public benefactors.—Benevolence and justice foundations of free institutions.—Selfish ambition of public men in Athens and Rome.—Tribes that overthrew the Roman empire.—How history should be written.—How taught.—Abridgment.—Dark ages.—Since Reformation.—Should be a late study.

IN alluding to civil history as an object of notice in the advanced school, of the last chapter, I proposed to resume the subject considered as the study of maturer years. There are some views of this branch of knowledge which may be new to the reader; and, as these require a full exposition, and are important in a treatise upon the principles of education, I have deemed it advisable to treat them separately.

In nothing is more time lost than in the details of history, as taught to the young; it is worse than lost; the pursuit is rendered positively injurious to social improvement. The annals of man—for by far the greater portion of the recorded duration of his race, with exceptions

calculated only to give more force to the rule,—are susceptible of a very summary description, and that is, a CHRONICLE OF THE ANIMAL PROPENSITIES. Gleams of morality have occasionally shone out, like meteors in the vast obscurity; and, in very recent modern times, the light of the higher sentiments has begun to burn more steadily; but it yet serves to do little more than render visible the chaos of selfishness which still engulfs mankind. The ancient world was enslaved by the propensities, paramount almost without mitigation. If the Greeks and Romans were justly so characterised, it cannot be said that the Egyptians and the different empires and kingdoms of Asia were any better: pride, rapacity, and cruelty internally degraded and oppressed these tribes of men; while, externally, their relations to each other, exhibit centuries of vain-glory, jealousy, injustice, fraud, violence, cruelty, slaughter, and robbery—all manifestations of animalism in its most unrestrained form of criminal energy. War waged with atrocity, ended, if not in the extermination, in the bondage of the defeated: the successive empires, as they are called, only indicate to us which tribe were for the time the strongest animals, from the epoch when the Egyptian “king of kings” subjected nameless hordes of barbarians in regions without bounds, through ages of Assyrian domination over all Asia, Babylonian ascendancy over prostrate Assyria, Persian vengeance on gorged and gilded Babylon, Macedonian on Persia,—till, later still, the Greeks found a stronger animal power yet in the talons of the Roman eagle, and the accumulated flood of human selfishness and cruelty, which had swelled as it swept along from

Sesostris to Trajan, found an ocean in the breadth and depth of Roman self-aggrandisement. But, by the Creator's fiat, Justice and Mercy alone "endure for ever." Human power, founded on any lower feelings, is an audacious defiance of His laws, of which even the temporal punishment, however postponed, is sure. The instrument may be as worthless as the criminal. Babylonish brutality was as profound as Assyrian, Persian as Egyptian: enlightened morality rejects the office of weighing out a little more pride to the Ninevite, a little more cunning to the Egyptian, a little more sensuality to the Babylonian, a little less falsehood to the Persian,—they were all below the level where discrimination avails; none of them could complain of the same injustice and violence which each, when strong enough, had inflicted: propensities tugged with propensities, and the families of antiquity tore each other to pieces.

What, it may be asked, is gained, or rather how much time and morality are positively lost, in the education of youth, by minute details of such atrocities? It is quite sufficient that the student shall know that such things were, without reading volumes of circumstantial proofs of the fact. If he is to dwell upon military glory, would it not be better to present him with the devoted acts of the patriot, than the ferocities of the aggressive warrior? The heroes whom Homer has arrayed with all the splendours of his poetry, he has only exhibited as magnificent animals; and Richard of England borrowed his distinction from the king of beasts. The act of the noble Swiss who opened a path for his countrymen into the phalanx of the Austrian men-at-arms, by grasping in his embrace

a number of their levelled lances, and fixing their points fast in his own bosom, is far more worthy to be remembered by the young student of history, than a hundred daring deeds of the aggressive robbers admired as the heroes of history. As hitherto written and taught, history has done much to occasion that prominence of the passion for arms in human affairs, that delight in war, with its two-fold prize of glory and plunder, which has descended even to our own times ; the animal propensities still impelling nineteen-twentieths of social concerns : hence war is popular, and martial feats yet receive the loudest acclaim, and lead to the highest honours and the richest rewards.

If the animal feelings uncontrolled impelled the tribes of antiquity in their external relations, it is not to be expected that we shall have to go higher for the springs of their internal polity, which is nevertheless considered the basis of political wisdom for the study of the young. Asia and Egypt are easily disposed of ;—brute despotism, based on pride and all the inferior feelings in the rulers, and suffered by perverted veneration and abject fear in the governed. This is the monotony of the propensities ; despots and slaves present no varieties ; their dull station offers but one land-mark in the stream of human progress ; for enslaved man does not advance. The character and actions of the tyrants were made up of the sensuality of the swine-stye, of whims and caprices of which children would now be ashamed, yet for which millions of human beings were sacrificed, and of cruelties in endless variety, to support a reign of terror, or gratify a wanton delight in destruction and blood. Bricks in double tale were

exacted, and straw was withheld. Pyramids were raised, the enduring monuments of gigantic childishness and oppression ;—lives were sacrificed to shew the tyrant's expertness in the use of the scimitar :—the decree went forth that, at the sound of the sackbut and psaltery, millions should change their religious faith ; and the weeping Hebrew was commanded by his revelling oppressors to snatch his harp from the willow, and strike it to the lofty song of Sion.

The young politician is directed to look to the "free states of antiquity," as the Greeks and Romans are called, for models for his principles, and their history is pressed upon his attention. But there is no genuine liberty without a moral foundation. During the periods that these states were not under the iron sceptre of a single despot, their freedom was no better than an animal struggle. On the one side, in the contest, were the rulers unceasingly grasping at vulgar power by vulgar means ; while on the other were the people, profoundly ignorant of their moral claims to freedom, and only uniting to snap the chain, as the wild beast endeavours to do, because it galls him. Popular tyranny, in its turn, was exercised without either justice or mercy, and the whole weight of its ingratitude and oppression was sure to fall upon the heads of the public benefactors especially. Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Socrates, Cimon, and Phocion, were some of the well known victims. We do not find in the ancient states any thing resembling what we should call established principles of national liberty ; the people scorned to be slaves, but longed to be tyrants ; the struggle was for power, not for liberty ; and power is the

object of an inferior sentiment. Benevolence and Justice are the only lasting foundations of free institutions ; these desire equal rights, privileges, and enjoyments, for the whole race ; they are inconsistent with a tendency in the governors to exclude, oppress, or engross, and in the governed to overleap the self-imposed bounds of the social relations ; in a word, they render restraint unnecessary. There is no durability in any government where the rulers do more than guard the community from excesses which may arise from the propensities, or where the governed combine to exercise any thing else than mutual goodwill, fairness, and respect for each other's rights. These were limits unknown in communities impelled by the propensities, like Greece and Rome. A counter ambition, a love of power moved the great majority of even their patriots : their efforts were plots for their turn of ascendancy. The objects of Pisistratus in Athens, and the Gracchi in Rome, were not more founded on sound principles and disinterested feelings, than those of Catiline or Cæsar. In a long contest for animal ascendancy, physical strength prevailed, and the despotism of the Cæsars terminated the anarchies and the tyrannies of the "free" state of Rome.

As teachers of politics the Greeks are no better than as teachers of morals. There was no virtue, in the proper moral sense, in the Athenian people at large. Any thing resembling political worth in their leading men was neither appreciated nor endured. The people were merciless and unjust, and of course restless, unsatisfied, and unhappy : this is a fact recorded by their own historians, and inferred by those of modern times :

it is ever the retribution of the propensities ;—"there is no rest for the wicked." The repose, the contentment, the dignity, of the higher sentiments and intellect supreme, were unknown to them ; the animal prevailed and rendered them a selfish, conceited, jealous, fickle, and turbulent people. Tired of kings they established archons, and Draco exemplified the domination of the propensities in himself, at least, by his absurdly ferocious laws. Solon came after him and gave the Athenians, not the best laws, for which he saw them utterly unfitted, but the best they were capable of receiving : in other words, he legislated for their inferior impulses, and legislated in vain ; his four orders of citizens was a political absurdity, which threw the whole power into the hands of the most numerous, the lowest, and the most ignorant. Anacharsis expressed his opinion to Solon that the wise deliberated, but the fools decided.

In vain was the Areopagus re-established and a senate created in which measures originated ; final determination lying with the people, passion, in other words, propensities, the engine which the demagogue wields, carried every thing : continual factions agitated the people, and corruption pervaded all the offices and departments of the state ; the selfish schemes or *jobs* of individuals, often as foolish as they were profligate, took the place of rational and honest legislation, and the best citizens were sacrificed who ventured to oppose them. Such was the ladder by which Pisistratus climbed to sovereign power. Under his sons the people might have been more peaceful, but Harmodias and Aristogiton resolved to restore

what they deemed the liberty, but truly the popular turbulence, of Athens. They murdered Hipparchus for merely succeeding to his father ; and Hippias, justly banished for his tyranny, gratified his revenge by bringing upon his country the propensities of a million of Persians. The war of Pericles was a contest of pride, cruelty, treachery, and bad faith, and ended, as all warlike enterprises no better based must end, in defeat, disgrace, and humiliation. Both Athens and Sparta were reduced to abject weakness at Mantinea, where the meteor-star of Epaminondas was quenched in victory, and the glory of Thebes blazed and vanished. The spirit of patriotism, selfish as it was, was gone among the Greeks ; the refinements of luxury were the national pursuit in Attica ; poets, comedians, musicians, painters, and sculptors, were all in all, and Greece fell an easy prey to Macedon, and ultimately to Rome.

In Roman history there is as little valuable political wisdom to be learned as in Grecian. In the Commonwealth, some criminal outrage brought each successive bad government to a close. Such finished the kings and established the Consulate. Under it, the patricians, selfish, exclusive, and oppressive, reduced the other classes to great distress. The Tribunes arose, and the people extorted a much greater share of power than would have satisfied them, had the exclusive class made more timely concessions,—a lesson often given but never taken in human affairs. The people tasted power, and the government became purely democratic. Justice and mercy in such struggles are out of the question ; the dominant propensities impelled the whole course of events ; the

brutal injustice of one of the Decemvirs brought the short experiment of that power to a close, and restored the Consulate. The tumultuary sedition of the Gracchi, of course fatal to themselves, was followed by a series of civil disorders, which terminated only with the Republic. Corruption already existed to a great extent, for Jugurtha twice determined an exculpatory vote of the Senate in his own favour, by bribery. It was not to be wondered at that Sylla and Marius paid no respect to the rights of those who had no respect for themselves; they were rivals for the selfish object of uncontrolled power, and each, in his turn, massacred the Romans without mercy. The high game they played inflamed the profligate ambition of others; and Cethegus, Verres, and Pompey, were the apt pupils of Sylla in proscription and bloodshed. Lepidus, Catiline, and Crassus, rushed on the stage, all bent upon being Syllas, and equally regardless with him of the means; but Cæsar's schemes were more deeply and ably selfish than those of any of the rest; his triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus was a master-stroke of preparative policy: the death of Crassus dissolved the interested connection, for Cæsar and Pompey were, too evidently to each other, pursuing the same selfish object, to preserve any longer the semblance even of union. The second triumvirate of Anthony, Octavius, and Lepidus, after Cæsar's death, was perhaps the most cold-blooded, ruthless tyranny which ever disgraced human nature; in the frightful proscription which followed, in which 300 senators and 3000 knights were put to death, the three heartless monsters by concert agreed to sacrifice each some of his best

friends to the vengeance of his associates. Anthony consented to the murder of his uncle Lucius, Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus, and Octavius paid the debt with the lives of Toronius, his guardian, and Cicero his friend. The triumvirate, like other copartneries founded on selfishness, broke up whenever circumstances gave the basest of the associates the chance of reigning alone. Although Octavius owed Phillipi to Anthony, he effected his ruin at Actium. Cleopatra's share of the moral sentiments shone forth in her desertion of her lover with her galleys in the heat of the action, and her affectionate offer to abandon him to the mercy of the conqueror. This baseness was too much even for Octavius; or, more probably, he saw that he did not require its aid, as both lovers were in his power, and he intended to have delighted the populace of Rome by an exhibition of them, chained to his triumphal chariot. They preferred self-destruction. Lepidus disappeared in his own insignificance, and Octavius returned to Rome sole master of the Roman empire.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader with the Roman Empire: the character of the people became more and more corrupted and debased. The proclivity, which Salust dates from the fate of Carthage,* proceeded in the accelerating ratio of a falling body. Every one knows the merits of the different emperors, and is well aware that, according as the prince was a man or a brute, the Roman people revived or suffered: unfortunately the

* “Ante Carthaginem deletam—metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, lascivia atque superbia invasere.”

latter character belonged to a great majority of the emperors.

Little is to be gained by studying the history of the barbarism which overthrew and overspread the Roman empire, in the varieties of Huns, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Franks, &c. It would be difficult to find one institution in the dark ages founded in mercy, or any feeling higher than a rude and despotic justice, or artificial honour, the offspring of chivalry. Christianity, with its humanizing powers, was for many centuries intercepted, and the most debasing system of fraud substituted in its place, which ever cheated mankind. A dense and noxious fog was interposed between the nations of Europe, and the vivifying rays of Christian morality.

Before history can be properly taught, it must be properly written. It must be written under the direction of an enlightened philosophy of mind and human nature, and the sound ethics of the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect. It ought to be viewed as a record of the manifestations of the faculties of man, and—the distinction of the animal from the moral faculties, the truth that creation is arranged on the principle of favouring virtue, being kept in view—its events should be classed according to their relation to the higher or lower feelings of humanity; exalting the former as worthy of approbation and imitation; and reprobating the latter according to their place in the scale of vice or crime, to which, in abuse, they essentially belong. The historian thus guided would not worship the false splendour of the Greeks and Romans,—a worship too unequivocally indicative of a sympathy in ourselves with the

lower feelings, out of which that false splendour arose ;— but tracing through all their ramifications and tortuosities, to their ultimate inevitable retribution, acts fundamentally immoral or criminal, would sternly refuse to them the slightest shelter from universal execration, in the most dazzling feats of heroism, the most munificent dispensation of plunder, the finest taste, or most gorgeous magnificence. The same guiding principles would impart to history a philosophical character, which would give it the highest practical value, and instead of an unedifying monotony of vice and crime, would render it a continued illustration of principle, and an instructive guide to national practice.

However history may yet be written, it surely need not be taught to the young through the medium of the animal propensities. Ancient history would require great and judicious abridgment, and a new code of instruction, for its conveyance. A knowledge of the past existence of the various tribes of men, with the chronology of their rise and fall as nations, is of course indispensable. A very summary sketch of their crimes, avoiding their interminable details, would be sufficient to illustrate the dominion of the lower feelings which brought on their fall. To minds exalted by moral training, details of barbarism and blood will be intolerably tedious and disgusting ; false glare being at an end, volumes filled with re-enactments of the same animal manifestations will no longer be endured. After exhausting Asiatic and Egyptian selfishnesses, sensualities, cruelties, brutalities and absurdities, a repetition of the very same abominations *mutato nomine*, in Grecian annals, and yet again, when done with

these, in Roman, would be a most irksome task, and a miserable waste of time. In a judicious abridgment nothing really valuable, even as matter of warning, need be lost; nothing which marks the development of the faculties, and the progress of human improvement, with the motives of action and the events in their connection as effects from causes; while all the varieties of injustice, individual and national, should receive their right names, and fraud, treachery, aggression, robbery and murder, which we justly reprobate when perpetrated in private life, be given over to tenfold execration when committed on a large scale; when millions are slaughtered by an Alexander, a Cæsar, or a Napoleon, when kingdoms are plundered and nations enslaved. The race would be retrograding instead of advancing, if there were not much to avoid in the actings of men who lived when the world was greatly younger and less experienced than it is now: for “the wisdom of our ancestors”—an entity generally of doubtful reality at any time—becomes a perfect solecism when it draws back to the eras of positive barbarism. In the progress of civilization, useful details will be amplified. The dark ages—with the exception of those singular manifestations of excited propensities and insane veneration, the Crusades, which have done good as warning beacons—scarcely possess any interest founded in utility. But, from the period of the revival of learning and science, the working of the faculties affords a great and progressing increase of lessons, and from the Reformation downwards, the history of England is replete with instruction. Even of that history since the Reformation an enlightened morality would reform the incul-

cation, and allot more discriminately, than is almost ever done, their proper places, according to a sound philosophy, to the characters, acts, customs, and institutions of our predecessors. Thus would the character of history be elevated, and its usefulness increased. When it had less of war, it would have more of society's natural state peace, and would become less a chronicle exclusively of kings and governments, and more a true picture of the successive generations of the human race; a valuable record of experience, holding the relation to the philosophy of man of a gradual induction of facts, capable of being systematised into a code of practical principles, with a beneficial application to every department of human affairs. It remains only, on this important head, to observe, that history, taught as now recommended, should be one of the latest subjects of study; when imparted as a mere chronicle or succession of facts it matters little whether it tasks the young or the advanced; but addressed to the reflecting powers of the student, it ought to be delayed till these are developed; addressed as it is to the memory alone it is forgotten, and even when remembered, is scarcely, by the educated themselves, applied to any practical use whatever.

CHAPTER VII.

ON POPULAR EDUCATION AS THE DUTY OF THE NATION
—PLAN PROPOSED.

Burdens from popular ignorance—Education ought to be free—Working class cannot obtain it—Always has been at public expense—School fees—Voluntary schools precarious—Working class indifferent—Gratis experiment—Claims of working class—They pay bulk of taxes—Nation must educate them—Commissioners—Minister—Code—The WHAT of education—Practical arrangements—Proposed building and airing ground—School and scientific apparatus—Normal schools for training teachers—First and second grants—Control and superintendence—No lack of teachers—Legitimate compulsion on parents—Something immediately to be done—Extract from the Edinburgh Review.

POPULAR ignorance is an enormous national evil. The ignorance, almost total, of seven-eighths of the British people, to say nothing of the deep reproach with which it covers us, is full of danger to our social system, and even affects deeply our daily well-being. A great proportion of our burdens must be placed to its account; it peoples our prisons and our hospitals, desolates our land with pauperism, and taxes us for the costly machinery of police establishments and criminal judicature; while it largely deducts from the happiness of every feeling man, to witness and live surrounded by the nameless and numberless sufferings which it entails upon an immense portion of our countrymen. From these sufferings *they*

have a claim on that system called the Nation, for deliverance. The associating principle of a nation is protection to ALL from those evils which are too strong for individual exertion. It bestirs itself when pestilence stalks abroad, and the unseen arrow wounds by noon-day ; this is urgent, and *fear* performs its office. It rises with all the excitation of the *belligerent faculties* to make war, and pours forth its treasures like a torrent *. Pride and rage are uncalculating paymasters. But the war against ignorance is made to wait ; it rouses not pride, nor flatters vanity ; the spread of that pestilence excites no panic. Benevolence and justice, the moving forces to that contest, are unimpassioned, tranquil, and withal slow ; and although we never admit that a treaty with popular ignorance is even to be thought of, we are content to live on in so lengthened a truce with the enemy, as to amount to the same thing. Accustomed most erroneously to consider education as a *want*, of which all wish and are willing to pay for the supply, there are perhaps none of our old habits of thinking now undergoing examination, which will receive a more violent concussion than this, when the thesis is boldly and unqualifiedly propounded, as it now humbly is, THAT THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF THE MANUAL-LABOUR CLASS OUGHT TO BE FREE,—free as the air they breathe,—milk without money and without price. If this novel proposition be deliberately weighed, it will be found that to deny it is to exclude popular education altogether from

* The combinations which led to the victory of Waterloo, in other words, the expenses to Britain of the memorable “ Hundred days,” was forty millions of pounds Sterling !

being a part or portion of social existence. The argument for throwing open liberally the doors of our schools to the children of the manual-labour class is twofold, 1st, That class cannot command any thing deserving the name of education for their children ; and, 2d, They have an undoubted claim on the Nation for that education.

1st, It is notorious, that the labour—the over-labour—of the working man is barely sufficient, and too often insufficient, to provide food, clothing, lodging, and fuel, for his family. This is true when he is industrious, conscientious, and temperate ; but the state of his family is greatly worse if he is addicted to drinking, or any other expensive selfish indulgence. We must take the fact as it stands, that *this* last mentioned source of impoverishment actually exists, and operates to a very great extent ; so that if the children of the industrious and temperate labourer are not educated, there can be no hope at all for those of the reckless and the sensual. The object is rendered still more unattainable when we reflect what it is that is to be attained ; what the education is which, from two years of age to fourteen, is requisite to elevate the people, physically, morally, and intellectually, from their present three-fold degradation. An humble attempt has been made to describe it in the 4th and 5th Chapters of this treatise ; and I would ask any competent person, who has read these chapters, and who agrees with me in thinking that the education there described is the education wanted for the people, to judge whether by any efforts of their own, individual or combined, the manual-labour class can command *that* education for their children, over and above the maintenance of themselves and

their families? They are quite as adequate, of themselves, to the arrangements and combinations of a war. The very *materiel* of efficient education is far beyond their reach,—the ground, the buildings, the apparatus, the implements; and as much so is the previous most necessary education of teachers, in number themselves an army.* An *a priori* statement of this array of difficulties might suffice, but the fact is, that the idea of the manual-labour class educating their children, beyond a slight aid to that object, has never been, because it cannot be entertained. The boasted parochial schools of Scotland are built and endowed by the public; the teacher's house, garden, and salary, are found him by the same public; while the school fees payable by the people for their children are inadequate even to keep up the establishment, and are looked to as a mere aid to the teacher's, after all, too scanty means. In the towns, all the experiments of Lancasterian and Infant schools are made mainly at the public expense; they were else quite beyond the reach of the class for whose benefit they are established. It matters not that they are erected and endowed by partial voluntary contributions, and not by general assessment; my present purpose is to shew that they are not, because they could not be, procured by the working classes themselves. But such establishments are of most limited extent, and far short of a title to be called public institutions; and moreover, even in them, the weekly pittance demanded from the parents for their children's attendance, in aid of the subscribed funds, is partially and

* The number of registered teachers, of both sexes, under the National system of Prussia, is 27,000 and upwards.

irregularly paid, and operates to multitudes, and those most needing education, as a positive exclusion. We are not called upon to account for this,—although it is easily accounted for in pinching want and profligate habits, which often leave not the twopence required, or devote it to the gin-shop,—it is enough that it is known and felt to be true. The weekly twopence has thinned the ranks of the Edinburgh model Infant school, till its directors look upon it more as a sort of *staff* to preserve the invaluable system, than a full establishment. The institution was calculated for 250 or 300 infants; but for a year and a half, in spite of the undiminished zeal and activity of an excellent teacher, in spite of the exertions of the directors, and not less of the directresses, to increase the numbers, and in spite of many expedients, to tempt and almost coax the people to enter their children, 100 have been the full average attendance!*

But there is another circumstance which must tell with tenfold force in the present argument, namely, that hundred are of a class *above* the grade for whom the institution was chiefly intended; the appearance and clothing of the children, their finery even, on exhibition-days, and the general character and appearance of the parents themselves, all bespeak the more respectable class of work-people; while to those who need it most the school is shut, by the charge of twopence a-week for one child, and a penny for every other child of the same family.

But again, the parish schools of Scotland have endured for two centuries just because they do not depend on voluntary support. For the permanence of the establish-

* The numbers alone have fallen off, the *system* continues vigorous.

ments now supported by voluntary contribution, their best friends are full of fears. It is well known that, over the whole country, they are occasionally dropping, like lights extinguished in the deep obscure, "like stars from the firmament cast."* A solitary Lancasterian school in Edinburgh of about 600 pupils is supported, but no more; while an almost periodical statement is reported by its directors that it is running in debt, and must in the long run shut its doors unless more liberally treated. The Infant school, too, has been a *model* to only one additional establishment; and has not only made no progress in clearing an original large debt, but is just able to subsist from year to year; how much longer we dare not say. Mr Wood's name is itself sufficient to maintain a numerous and vigorous school, though that establishment also receives and requires voluntary public aid. In short, the whole system of voluntarily supported education is precarious, and limited far short of the exigencies of the working classes. Besides, it is yet another load unfairly laid upon benevolence by selfishness, which is content to reap the benefit of what others pay for. In Edinburgh,

* In No. 117 of the Edinburgh Review, page 8, is the following passage:—"In Henly-on-Thames, there has been a tolerable British school. The Committee on the spot, however, were seized with the notion that they should like to have an Infant School. The British School was accordingly allowed to drop, but no infant school succeeded. So precarious is the tenure of *unendowed* schools. We may mention also, in proof of their liability to accident, a state of things by no means uncommon in the midland counties, in which sons of respectable farmers have grown up to men's estate without even the elements of education. That they were accustomed to receive in Dames' schools; but during the time when prices were high, and the farmers prosperous, they sent their children to boarding schools and academies. Bad times returned, and the children were recalled; but the Dames' school had disappeared."

we are, and have been for some time, at what is called a "stand still," and it is presumed that we are a pretty fair type of other places. An hundred other charities burden and exhaust the benevolent, who, as was formerly observed, are to the *non-contributing* public of these places as one to one hundred ! Of the rest, multitudes never *give* on any account whatever ; "it is not in their way ;" some do make a rare exception of a particularly popular and *shewy* occasion ; but steady, noiseless, stated, philanthropic expenditure is rare, nor is even *that* unvarying. This is well known to the anxious directors of some charities which have ceased to be novel ; other charities, bad times, general suffering, year after year, thin their subscription lists ; the institutions struggle on, by various expedients, for some time longer, by contracting their usefulness, and heavily taxing their conductors over and above their labour ; at last they die, and a subscription to bury them and wind up their affairs is attempted, and fails ! But pay for it who may, the education of the working classes never has been and never will, for it cannot, be paid by themselves. Besides inability, there is another obstacle to any thing like effort by that class to obtain education for their children, and that is their utter indifference to it, arising from ignorance of its advantages. The very ignorance which we deplore is a mountainous barrier in the way of its own removal. The road must be levelled and smoothed, and almost strewn with flowers, to tempt the prevailing apathy to move in it. It is proverbial, but erroneous, that a thing must be paid for *before* it is valued, and many will tell us that the working class will not care

to send their children to our *gratis* schools. Now that has not yet been tried ; but it has, on trial, been found to be most certainly true that the maxim reversed holds good, namely, that a thing must be valued *before* it is paid for ; and hence the empty halls of the pence-exacting schools. It seems an experiment well worth the while of the Government, who *must* have ultimately to deal with the great question, to guarantee, for a year or two, the loss to two or three infant schools, that shall arrange to open their door gratis. From many indications, and from inquiries made by them among the poorer classes, Mr Dun and Mr Milne, the teachers of the Edinburgh Lancasterian and model Infant schools, have informed the author that they entertain no doubt that their schools would be quite full in a few days on that footing *. This might be expected by attention to the most obvious human motives. The parent must be depraved indeed, or insane, who should prefer being annoyed with wretchedly cared for children at home, or seeing them playing in the kennels of the streets, in filth and wickedness, to placing them in the safety, comfort, and to them,

* Both these teachers declare that their school-fees are irregularly paid. In the Lancasterian scarcely one-half are paid when due, and a great proportion is never recovered. In the Infant school it is better, though there likewise irregular. Mr Dun knows when a pupil will cease to come back ; it is after running some weeks in arrear. He has often made the experiment of seeing the parents, whom he generally found drunk, and on wiping off the score the pupil was sure to come back again. Mr Dun and Mr Milne state, that the opinion in favour of gratis teaching is from experience general among the teachers themselves. The boys in the Lancasterian School are about 300,—they used to be 500. If the doors were opened gratis, a larger number than 500 would attend with alacrity. There are about 300 girls.

luxury of an Infant school. If they could be tempted only to *bring* them there, the children themselves would most certainly come back again; if so, would the parents—could they, *hinder* them? Let us once get hold of the children, and we are sure of *them*; they will make no demand on their parents on Monday morning for the non-existing twopence, which has gone for whisky on Saturday night or Sunday; the poor child is probably sent or driven out of doors at any rate; he will infallibly find his way to the Infant school; and when once there, he may in most cases be counted upon, not only for the whole period of that first school, but for transference to the more advanced school, of our fifth chapter, also opened to him gratis; and there also he will make out the total term.

2dly, The manual-labour class have a claim on the nation for the means of educating their children. If education can be adapted for the people at an expense only which would overwhelm any means short of national, it must be provided by the nation. But this is but another form for the expression that it must be provided by the people themselves; not in a partial and inefficient way, but by the equable means of a general contribution passing through the coffers of the state; the waters would but partially irrigate the soil if they were not first carried by evaporation high into the atmosphere, and scattered in genial, impartial, and spreading showers over the whole face of the land.

From some few direct taxes the manual-labour class is exempted; but that class being seven-eighths of the population, must bear an immense proportion of the indi-

rect taxation. They are, after all, the grand consumers, and nearly every thing they consume is in some way or other taxed. What have they in return for this? They have protection.—Of what? they have no property to protect, their manual-skill or capacity of labour needs no protection; their persons require little, already protected as they are by their poverty; the protection of the capital that pays their labour is a far-fetched personal value for *their* contribution to the public burdens. They are entitled to some more palpable and direct return, and what can that be more natural, more blessed, than education for their children,

“ Dropping like the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath,”

and vivifying and fructifying all it falls upon. It is an error to call this *gratis* education; the working classes pay for it not only in their extensive contribution to the indirect taxation, but in sustaining by their labour the entire physical fabric of the community. For this they bestow one-half, and often more, of the twenty-four hours, and three-fourths of their waking time; and that for a remuneration which their numbers render limited, and thereby prevent from being adequate. If that remuneration is barely sufficient to provide necessaries for their families, can we yet reduce it farther by proposing that, over and above their labour and taxation, they shall provide education, such as it ought to be, for their children? No! education denied to seven-eighths of a nation, should rouse a nation's energies. That it will be costly there is no concealing, but it must be attained at any

cost. We must go to war with ignorance, and wage it uncompromisingly till it is conquered. No half measure will succeed ; the effort must be powerful, simultaneous, and worthy of a great people. It must have all the " agitation " of a mighty event ; " the people must take the matter into their own hands," this meaning, not that the people are expected to make unconnected and unsystematic efforts to educate themselves, but that they are to urge the great measure on the Government, as one which they have at heart, and for which they are willing to pay, provided all are made to pay in the fair proportion of an equable tax. But to the Government they will leave the mode of applying the ways and means so provided ; they will thence best secure that uniformity of plan which will enlighten all the land alike, and bring it within the circle of one vast but united family ; in most beneficial contrast to the phasis it now exhibits, general ignorance diversified with a little knowledge in the garb of a harlequin, with no two of its patches alike.

As a commencement to the glorious measure of national education, which is destined to illustrate the legislature that carries it through, its merits should be discussed fully and freely in both Houses of Parliament, and resolutions voted in its favour. Petitions will not be wanting, when the subject is " agitated " by the legislature and the press, both combining to enlighten the public upon it, and render it popular. When the legislature have recognised, by resolutions, the principles, first, THAT THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE, FROM TWO YEARS OF AGE TO FOURTEEN, OUGHT TO BE FURNISHED AT THE NATIONAL EXPENSE ; and, secondly, THAT THE NATIONAL

SYSTEM SHOULD BE DIRECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT, the way will be paved for the first act of Parliament which will empower his Majesty to name Commissioners, under the superintendence of his Secretary of State for the Home Department*, to constitute a Board of Public Education, whose duty, under the responsibility of a minute report to Parliament, it shall be, *First*, after the most extensive inquiries into existing improvements, not merely in this country, where there is yet but little to boast of, but in countries which have made, and are making, popular education a grand national object, such as Prussia and France, and guided by sound philosophical principle, to prepare a system of primary education—a Code or directory for the teacher's guidance, adapted to *all* classes of the community, and with a special eye to the education of the manual-labour class, physical, moral, and intellectual. The vital importance of such a book needs no illustration. On the table of every school in the country, it would be the teacher's rule, guide, warrant, and limit, and secure to the pupil education on an enlightened plan, and that uniform from one end of the empire to the other. This is of immense moment. There

* Prussia and France have each a Minister of Public Instruction, and the magnitude of the national object would warrant a similar appointment in this country. In this proposition I am anticipated by the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 117, p. 30,—“ In England, where almost every thing is to do, and a great deal to be undone, we doubt whether any thing can be effected of permanent utility, without a Minister of Public Instruction. The duties of the Home Office are already too heavy. The only way to secure unity, promptitude, energy, and we may add impartiality, in any organized system of national education, is to lodge the undivided responsibility in the hands of a public officer, and to limit his duties to that great object.”

is a vague talk on the subject of popular education, even among its zealous friends, which appears never to get beyond the machinery, the multiplication of schools, and the methods of teaching ; but few seem to think it at all necessary to settle the point, WHAT is to be taught. In *this*, we of this country have the course clear for us to shoot ahead immeasurably of both Prussia and France. It would occupy too much space to detail here the WHAT of education in those countries on their new popular system. Those who have read their reports must have been struck with the preponderating, the almost exclusive importance allotted to the machinery,—to the minister of public instruction, the boards, the normal schools, the primary schools, the control and visitation, the uniformity, borrowed from the very war-office and the barrracks. This is all very right, so far as it goes ; but the education conveyed by all these appliances appears to rise very little above the old routine ; and this evidently because it is not suspected in Prussia and France that there exists any thing better. We miss, in the very front of the system, a provision for infant education, for the chief object of all education, to which every thing else ought to be subservient, early practical moral training. We find no provision made for imparting to the pupil a knowledge of himself, and creation as related to him. Languages, geography, mathematics, history, music, drawing, penmanship, are all excellent branches, but they are too apt to be thought the whole of school objects. The desiderated British Code of the substance of education may be made to exceed any thing yet known ; and, borrowed, as it would be, by the very coun-

tries from which we have copied the machinery, will overpay the boon *.

Secondly, The next duty of the Board will, of course, be the framing of a practical scheme of popular education for the country at large,—namely, the localizing of schools ; the kind of school for each locality, best adapted to confer on the place as much of the approved educational system as possible ; and, as the first step after the *general* plan is fixed, the best mode of training the numerous teachers who will be required for so immense an undertaking.

1. The localities pointed out in the familiar parochial divisions of the country seem quite unexceptionable. A school on the approved plan in every parish would realize the noble scheme to the utmost practicable or wished-for extent. It is quite unnecessary to enter here into minute details ; when principle is established, practice comes naturally to the hand. By returns obtained, through Lords-Lieutenants, from local authorities, the educational wants of the most remote parish may be familiarly known to the Board ; the numbers of children ; the distances from a central site for the school ; and all other statistical information bearing on the great object. In large towns, the number of schools adequate to the population will be regulated by a division into districts. This, besides many other obvious advantages, will incite to attendance, especially in the Infant school, by vicinity to the pupil's home.

* I learn that books are coming out for the Irish Government Schools, of a much higher cast than any thing the public have yet seen, and that the enlightened Archbishop of Dublin is the author of some of them. I have not yet seen any of them, but I hail their appearance, and trust they will much assist the Code proposed.

2. The WHAT to be taught, as it has been above called, will guide even the architect. The size of his building being regulated by the number of pupils in the parish, or town district, the structure, for such a plan of education, let us suppose, as is humbly proposed in this treatise, is obvious,—an oblong building, with enclosed ground on both sides of it. On the ground-floor there will be a hall for the Infant School, and over it a hall for the advanced school, taught either entire, or in two divisions which will require another hall over the second proposed; but all under one roof, which every builder knows is a great saving. A most important moral advantage will result from the infant and advanced school being in one building, namely, a feeling that they are parts of the same system; the child of six ascends to the hall above, as a matter as much of course as his growing taller; and that without an interval of a year or two, between the infant and more advanced school, much complained of by teachers as too common, during which much that has been acquired is lost. The upper hall or halls will enter from the other side, without interference with the infant school, and the airing-ground will be larger or deeper, to give room, not only for gymnastic exercises, but for simple workshops, gardening, and other manual employments.*

In the infant school hall will be all the apparatus of the system, already well known and ready to be furnished. In the advanced school will be established, in proper cabinets and repositories, all the means of illustration,

* It is assumed that in both the infant and advanced schools, boys and girls are educated in the same hall, only sitting apart. They never can be more improvingly or safely together.

scientific and other, which is wanted for the series of lessons there to be taught. There is now great simplification, and of course economy, in chemical apparatus for the elementary experiments; while in mechanical there is a capability of much abridgment of material, and of substitution for the more costly instruments. For example all the elementary experiments in pneumatics, formerly performed with the large air-pump, which costs above L. 30, can be performed with Chalmers's ingenious invention, which can be had for L. 3. In what I have called the Code for the schools, the apparatus will all be described and valued; and the great demand, with competition, would facilitate the supply.

3. I have said, that whenever the Board have ascertained their entire plan, of schools, their number, and localities, and the probable number of teachers required, they should proceed to mature a mode of fitting the future teachers for their important office. It is perhaps one of the most beneficial results of a great national plan, that the superintended uniformity will secure qualified teachers, without whom the whole system would be a mockery, worse even than the present. The schools for teachers are called Normal Schools in Prussia, and are known also in Switzerland. Young men are assembled in considerable numbers, and instructed and trained in the branches to be taught, and the art of teaching, and a provision is made for their travelling expenses and moderate maintenance, when attending these preparative seminaries. The certainty of employment as teachers secures even a competition for admission, so that even selection becomes necessary. It is humbly suggested that as

many of these schools for teachers should be established, as shall be deemed by the Commissioners adequate to train the required number of teachers, and situated in different convenient localities. The Prussian system avoids the larger towns. Well qualified instructors of these schools could even now be procured, and still more when there shall exist a Code for their guidance. Some hundreds might learn under one instructor of the infant system, and one of the advanced.

The most effectual method of training teachers, is evidently to place them in the position of pupils, and, when sufficiently advanced, to practise each to conduct the studies and exercises of the rest. The infant school teachers should visit well conducted infant schools, to observe their actual working; and very perfect infant schools already exist, the only part of the new system where there is nothing left to do. The teacher of the more advanced school will no doubt be the better fitted for his office, the more extended his attainments; that is, he will not teach the elements of chemistry, mechanical philosophy, or astronomy, worse, that he has himself advanced much farther in these sciences; and from what I have witnessed in the teachers of improved schools, both Lancasterian and Infant, there may be expected, if opportunity be enjoyed, energetic and persevering self-improvement. Of course the diploma of any of the schools for teachers will be taken as credentials of qualification; and it ought to be rigidly enacted by the legislature, that no one not possessed of that evidence of his having completed the prescribed time in the preparative school, should be appointed teacher of any of the national seminaries.

As it will require at least two years to educate the teachers, the finance of the measure will be regulated accordingly. The first grant will not require to do more than constitute the Commissioners, of whom there might be two Boards, one for England sitting in London, and another for Scotland in Edinburgh *, to correspond and co-operate with each other ; they should be enabled to devote their time exclusively to maturing of the measure, over and above the preparation of the Educational Code. The next grant will establish the schools for teachers, and provide for them total or partial maintenance during their attendance at these seminaries ; while the third, and of course the largest grant, will be called for when it is necessary to build and endow the schools. It has already been said that that grant must be large : it must be told in millions and raised by loan, like the ways and means of a warlike outfit, or the compensation of the West India proprietors. This will stagger the public who are unprepared to connect the benefit with the cost, and the grants will be sorely grudged ; but the country, when more enlightened, will come to see and acknowledge that the treasure of Britain was never so beneficially expended. After the first erection of a school in each parish, the annual current expense will be, although absolutely costly, comparatively light : but it is a burden which the nation will bear the more willingly, the more enlightened they become, the more they are divested of that indifference, if not indisposition, to po-

* The situation of Ireland is peculiar ; it would require consideration how far what is already well done in that country should be modified into uniformity with any different system that may be adopted for this Island, especially in machinery.

pular education, of which ignorance of its real nature and value is the cause.

The Board will exercise the most rigid surveillance over the schools for teachers, and subsequent parish schools. The teacher ought to be liberally paid, quite as liberally as the parish minister, while his attainments will secure to him an elevation in society, far beyond what the "schoolmaster" has yet enjoyed. But to keep up zeal, and prevent the sedative effect of endowment, all the national school teachers should be appointed triennially; when *reappointment* will depend upon previous conduct. The Board ought to have the sole appointment of the teachers, and the power of dismissal for sufficient reason. Returns at stated periods should be made to the Board, by the teachers, of the condition and progress of their schools; and these should be countersigned by the Justices of Peace and Clergy in the parish, who should have power, and be enjoined to visit, the school at all times, and examine it once or twice a year. Occasional inspections by members of the Board, or by qualified persons appointed by them, going in circuit, so that the whole schools may be inspected in the course of a certain number of years, and their state published, would furnish a motive to teachers, justices, and ministers, alike to do their duty.

It is not likely that there will be any lack of applicants for admission into the schools for teachers, and these previously possessed—for this should be conditioned—of all the instrumentary attainments of ordinary education, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, mathematics. The evil of the want of channels of usefulness and subsistence for well educated young men, is severely

felt all over the country. Not only will a more respectable reward for their qualifications offer an inducement, which is at present unheard of, to follow the liberal profession of instructors, but the avocation itself will, in its excitement to the faculties, so far exceed all the power which belongs to the present dull system, as to engage a much higher order of minds than those that are forced into employment for mere bread. This has been most forcibly exemplified in the Wilderspin infant schools * :

It has been already observed that there will be no want of pupils to fill the ranks of *such* schools as the national schools ought to be. The parents, it has been said, will scarcely *hinder* the resort of their children to these places of safety and improvement, unless worked upon by some counteracting influence. Besides the disrepute, which will become greater as the system extends, of withholding education from their children, from mere indolence or perversity, the community, who pay for the advantages which are thus rejected, will come to apply a more intelligible stimulus to these selfish recusants, in form of refusal of work or domestic service to themselves, and the assurance that they will be refused to their children, not only as an expression of reproach, but because the educated young workmen will certainly be more skilful and more trust-worthy. Besides this, municipal powers, privileges, and advantages, should all be made to depend upon the evidence produced by the claimant that he attended *bona fide* one of the schools, for the appointed period ; and if, at the time of his application, he has children of the stated age, that they are actually *bona fide* attending one of the schools. I allude to the elective fran-

* See Appendix, No. III.

chise, votes for local offices, and eligibility to fill them, parish relief, certificates of character, promotion in, and even admission into, the army and navy, &c. This seems the utmost limit of *compulsion*, if it ought to be so called, which seems either practicable or desirable. Even so much will be required in comparatively few instances, and these only in the first working of the sytem. The privilege, the high privilege, of education will soon recommend itself, and be eagerly courted both by parents and children *.

Some observations on the obstacles which at present stand in the way of this great yet simple scheme are reserved for the concluding chapter. The author has only to add here that it would ill become so humble an individual as himself to expect the speedy realization of *his* views, when the first men of the age despond when they allude to the subject. It is thought that their despair regards finance, and perhaps prejudice, more than essential impracticability. If the country will furnish the ways and means, and the interested or prejudiced will abstain from opposing or thwarting, the measure, though vast, is beautifully simple, and might be brought into operation in a very few years. It is of great importance to familiarise the public, through the medium of the press, with enlarged educational views; improvement of a temporary kind may even be adopted by the existing schools, although this is not to be generally reckoned upon; but the public at large will advance in their habits of thinking on the subject, and become more disposed to make the great national effort which is so urgently required. It is humbly

* In Prussia attendance at the national schools is rigidly enforced.

suggested that resolutions by the Legislature, and the measure of appointing a Board of Education to prepare that important work which I have called the Code, and to mature a national plan, should not be delayed even for another session of Parliament. Besides the practical operation of a regulating body of instructions *, the existence of an organized power steadily preparing and forwarding the great cause in the country, towards a well-defined end, would produce a powerful moral influence, and keep all eyes fixed upon the coming event, as an epoch in the annals of the country and the history of the race. I cannot better conclude this chapter, than with an extract from the able article in the *Edinburgh Review* No. 117, already more than once alluded to†. At page 27, the writer says,—

“ Of all the preliminary steps, then, to the adjustment of this great question, by far the most important is the appointment of some means for training schoolmasters, not to any set of mechanical evolutions merely, but to a knowledge of the principles and practice of their profession, and to the able and enlightened discharge of its duties. The want of some such provision is the great vice of our Scottish system. Faults have thus crept into

* I may mention another advantage of our Code ; it will be the warrant for the pupil's manuals, which may be little more than extracts from it ; and thus a general complaint by parents will be obviated, viz. the great expense of the interminable variety and bulk of school-books, out of which, after all, but a very small portion is ever read.

† I beg to refer to Article 13th of the preceding number (116), for a very complete analysis of the mechanism of the Prussian system. That system I cannot help thinking unnecessarily complicated. It is evidently modelled upon military notions of duties and responsibilities.

the practice of our parish schools, which nothing but the removal of the cause will eradicate. Our readers are aware what consequence the Prussian lawgivers attached to this object; wisely considering, that the best plans of teaching are a dead letter, without good and able teachers; and that to expect good teachers without good training, is to look for a crop without ploughing and sowing. In all their regulations on the subject of the *Schullehrer seminarien*, there is an anxious consideration of whatever can minister to the moral and intellectual improvement, and even to the personal comfort and happiness, of the young teachers, which reminds us more of the tenderness of parental care and admonition, than of the stern and authoritative precepts of law. Every Department is enjoined to have one of these seminaries; the pupils to be admitted between sixteen and eighteen, to the number of from sixty to seventy in each; to be situated in towns of moderate size, that, on the one hand, they may be preserved from the corruption of very large ones, and, on the other, have access to schools which they can see and may improve in. The course of instruction delivered in these institutions presupposes that of the primary schools. Pupils are admitted, however, with whom it is advisable to go back on the primary instruction; and the first of the three years, which form the complement of attendance for the whole course, is generally spent in revising and giving readier and fuller possession of previous acquirements. If that point, however, is already reached, it shortens the attendance by one year, and the pupil proceeds at once to the business of the second, which is employed in giving him just notions of the philosophy of

teaching, the treatment of the young mind, the communication of knowledge, the arrangement of school business, the apparatus and evolutions necessary for arresting attention and husbanding time; of all, in fine, that pertains to the theory and practice of moral education, intellectual training, and methodical instruction,—technically called *Paedagogik*, *Didactik*, and *Methodik*. The third year is more particularly devoted to the object of reducing to practice, in the schools of the place, and in that which is always attached to the seminary, the methods and theory he has been made acquainted with. We refer for other details to our preceding Number. It is more to our present purpose to remark, that there does not exist, nor ever has existed, in the island of Great Britain, a single institution of this kind, which the Prussian people think so useful, that they have voluntarily gone beyond the number prescribed by law. There were, at the close of 1831, thirty-three of these seminaries in the monarchy, which is more than one for each department or circle.

“ We cannot but think, therefore, that some effort should be made to apply part, at least, of the Parliamentary grant to the purpose of training schoolmasters, if it were only to mark the opinion of Government of the importance and necessity of such establishments; and to direct public attention to a branch of knowledge which, new and unexplored as it is amongst us, has long taken its place in the circle of the arts and sciences, and long had its literature and its votaries, in Germany. Any thing approaching, indeed, to the universal and permanent organization in that country (for it is by no means

confined to Prussia), it would of course be vain to expect in this, at least for many years to come ; but means of opening up the subject, and commending it to the attention, not of teachers only and patrons of schools, but of the public generally, need not be regarded as out of our reach. Might not, for example, a lectureship or professorship of the art of teaching (or, if a name be wanted for the new subject, of Didactics) be appended to one or two of the Scotch universities ; and, if such a novelty could not be engrafted on the old establishments of Oxford and Cambridge, tried, at least, in the infant institution of Durham ? A very small endowment, if any, would be wanted, provided Parliament would make it imperative on candidates for vacant schools (beginning at first with those of the better kind only), to produce a certificate of having attended such a course, or even to undergo an examination on the subjects there treated. *

“ It is obvious, in contemplating such an arrangement as this, that the greatest difficulty would be to find fit persons for such an office,—a difficulty which would scarcely, however, last beyond the first appointment. And even with regard to that, we need scarcely look farther than to the burgh and parochial schoolmasters of Scotland. As a body, indeed, they are not beyond being greatly benefited by attendance on such a course as we propose ; but there are men among them, and the number is on the increase, who, to an enthusiastic attachment to their profession, and a large experience of

* “ See some good remarks on this subject, in the *Sketch of a Plan for the Education of Ireland*, by R. J. Bryce, Principal of Belfast Academy. 1828.”

its practical details, add much knowledge of its principles acquired by reading and reflection, and an almost intuitive perception of what is right in the management of the youthful faculties, and in the manner of imparting instruction. Philosophy and experience must go hand in hand, to fit a man for the purpose in view. If such lectureships were instituted in places where there was access also to schools in which the doctrines might be illustrated, the practice exemplified, and the teaching partly conducted by the student, we should accept it as the greatest boon that could be conferred on the parochial education of Scotland. There are few, perhaps none, of the defects that still cling to our parish schools which would not disappear under the wholesome influence of such a measure, carried ably and honestly into effect. For example, next to that measure itself, there is nothing more loudly called for to improve our parochial discipline, than a plan of authorised inspection. This, we have seen, is regarded as an essential part of the Prussian and French system, and is executed by delegates appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction. It seems natural that the proposed lecturers, with assistants, if required, should have this arduous duty devolved upon them. Again, a well-arranged succession of school-books is still a desideratum: none would be so likely to supply it well, as men whose lives would be devoted to the study of their art. But if such a project shall appear to some, as we are prepared to expect, visionary and impracticable, let strenuous endeavours be at least made to multiply the number and increase the efficiency of the model schools we have. There is an endowment

for such an institution, called the Barrington School, at Bishop Auckland; and the Metropolitan schools of both the societies are open, and have been used for such purposes, as far as their means would go. To improve and assist these would be a far more profitable way of expending the grant, than to build schools for the propagation of imperfect methods."

CHAPTER VIII.

DIFFICULTIES—OBSTACLES—ENCOURAGEMENTS.

DIFFICULTIES—Counteraction by adult population—Reaction upon them—Decrease of drunkenness—Course with adults—Incurable class—Edinburgh Association for cheap lectures—Provision for free instruction to the adult workman—Schools of Arts—Denial of leisure to the manual labourer—Proposed restriction of labour—Workmen will restrict it—Farther restriction in factories—Poor Laws' abuses—Criminal population.—OBSTACLES—Public indifference—Remote results—Example of direct enjoyment from moral sentiments—Direct benefits—Great expense—Prejudice against educating the people—Existing interests—Sectarian zeal—Origin of clerical superintendence—Solecism in our laws—Church in danger—Opposition to Lancasterian Schools, to London University, to Irish National Education—Parallel in Catholic bigotry in Glasgow—Practical inference—Appeal to the dominant sect, to the government, to the people.—ENCOURAGEMENTS—Advocacy of Press—We are outstripped by other nations—Wishes of the Government and Legislature—Existence of improvements already—Education of all ranks together—Conclusion.

I. DIFFICULTIES.

IN treating of this head, we are to suppose the great measure of popular education as a national object actually passed and in operation, and are now to consider the counteraction to its working which is likely to be occasioned by existing social evils, and these in the very forms which education is meant to remove.

1. The education of children, on the principles of this treatise, in the midst of an uneducated adult population, will certainly present the same kind of difficulties as those with which the husbandman would have to struggle, who should watch the growth of a few bushels of grain in a field overrun with weeds. His grain would grow

under great disadvantages, but it *would* grow; the increase sown again, a portion of the weeds having in the interval, by any means, disappeared, will yet more increase; till the field, by this time well cleared, will be occupied, in its whole length and breadth, with good grain. The child of unfortunate parents, who themselves suffer all the evils of ignorance and degradation, returns from our school, infant or advanced, into a society where every thing he has learned, or seen, or done, or enjoyed, is, as it were, reversed. In this society he must live for as long, if not a longer period, every day, than he remains in school; and without doubt there must be a certain degree of retrogression, a certain drag upon his progress, a step down, for at least every two steps up. But if there *are* two steps up for one down, and at the very least there will and must be this proportion, there is a step in advance on the whole, and this is an unspeakable gain. This acquisition will tell yet more in the next generation; in it there will be still less retrograde motion, for the home will then have made a great advance towards harmony with the school; till, perhaps in one generation more, the greatest improvement may be reached, to which it is reasonable to expect the manual-labour class to arrive. I have in reserve a word or two, in order to reconcile the reader, whom the idea may startle, of being called upon to legislate for posterity, to sow, at vast expense, that which a generation, not even the next, shall reap; of which we are not destined to see more than the incipient growth, and scarcely our children, the "whitening unto harvest."

In the mean time I beg to request the attention of

my alarmed reader to another element, and a powerful one, of more immediate operation in the progression, and that is the REACTION on the adults of the improvement of the children, the blessed influence of infant kindness, and cleanliness, and piety, upon a naturally well disposed but ignorant parent, nay upon even a hardened ; for the man who scorns, perchance, the decencies of life, and spurns alike the precept and the example of pastors and well-wishers, will soften in the presence of his own gentle child, and shrink abashed from the unfinished grossness or excess, as it lisps at his knee the lesson of refinement and temperance. But the domestic influence of children, it is well known, increases as they rise in years ; it is often, as things are, very great ; but when they shall have the moral force of good habits and good sense on their side, they will come insensibly to take the lead of the imbecillity of animal degradation, and will exercise a steady check upon their less favoured seniors, and a reforming power in their own homes.

If, then, the ignorant and immoral adult shall in some degree retard the improvement of the young, the improving young will act with an influence, and that always on the increase, on the adult, so that the balance of momentum will be onwards. The child of ten years of age, we shall suppose a girl, who attends the advanced, and has attended the infant school, will take, and the lazy parent will gladly yield to her, the care of the house ; the house will be cleaner and better aired ; the parents will purify their persons when urged or shamed to do so by their child, who has moreover provided the means ; she will watch her father's return with his wages, and induce him,

to come home to some prepared comfort, instead of resorting to the pot-house, and remaining there perhaps all the night, and all the next day ; she has learned the lesson in school, in a variety of forms, how a home is to be made more attractive than a public house, and she will soon see it her own happiness to act upon that knowledge, and to induce her mother to act with her. Our schools established in *every* quarter of the country, let the reader mark this, and actually educating the *whole* juvenile population, a pupil or two in every dwelling, cannot fail to act upon the adults, so as immensely to forward the general improvement.*

* Since the first chapter of this treatise was printed, the question of the improvement or retrogression of the working classes in Edinburgh has been publicly discussed at the Town-Council Board ; and strong proofs, the result of very extensive inquiries, have been adduced by Mr Macfarlane, one of the Magistrates, that workmen generally are improving in *sobriety* and *steadiness*. In his Historical Newspaper, No. 18, Mr Chambers comes to the same conclusion. I have been led also to make inquiries, and rejoice to say that employers very generally declare that there *is* improvement in their workmen in sobriety, and of course in steadiness. This fact tends to increase the exceptions so liberally allowed in my first chapter, and it will do so still more, if the improvement extends to other places. The evil of drunkenness is nevertheless very general in the class below that to which employers look for respectable journeymen. It has already been shewn to be fearfully prevalent in manufacturing towns, and there is enough of it generally to forbid relaxation of their efforts by the friends of mankind for its abatement ; while the improvement already effected will tend to the production of yet earlier fruits, from an educational system which an improved *moral* will more readily welcome. After all, even the sober and steady workmen have much more to do before they get out of the pale of our first chapter ; their sobriety is an excellent commencement. It would be instructive to know how much of the increased sobriety is to be put to the credit of temperance vows ; and how much of it is the fruit of voluntary prudence and principle. One example of the latter is worth a hundred of the former. I would strongly recommend to Mr Macfarlane to prosecute his inquiries

As the plan of popular education advocated in this treatise concerns the young from two to fourteen years of age, there is, I have said, much discouragement, to the existing generation, in the idea of its distant fruits, in a social improvement which they are not to witness. Is there no means of extending some palliating portion of enlightenment to the vast mass of adults that *now* constitute the manual-labour classes? We cannot make them children again, and train them after the Wilderspin fashion, or propose to open even advanced schools for them to make up their lost time; but there is much we can do for them. We can make useful and entertaining knowledge as cheap to them as coarse paper, by the abolition of all taxes upon it;—we can convey to them valuable instruction, in every parish, in the form of lectures by the national school teachers when established, by the minister of the parish, who ought to be qualified for this important duty, and by philanthropic and accomplished gentlemen*, resident in the parish or neighbourhood.

A great deal taught in our advanced school, and a general notion of what is done in the infant school, might thus be imparted to existing adults; while those who are inmates, and a great proportion will be, of the same families with pupils of these schools, will unavoidably be assailed with offered knowledge on that side also, and

elsewhere, both in Scotland and England, and favour the public with, what I am sure they will welcome, the results in a pamphlet. The very discussion will very generally offer a motive to workmen to *deserve* a favourable report.

* Sir George Mackenzie, well known to the scientific and literary world, has set a noble example of this society-improving novelty, by giving useful lectures in his own parish in Ross-shire.

find themselves, whichever way they turn, breathing as it were a purer atmosphere, and looking on a brighter day, than they have ever before experienced. This will be a glorious result of the universality of the national schools. There are individuals, whole classes, indeed, plunged in ignorance and debasement, deeper than moral plummet ever sounded. Them, alas ! we cannot help. As long as they abstain from crime,—for when actually criminal there is another mode of disposing of them, to a view of which the appendix (No. I.) is devoted,—although they themselves will continue to suffer every social misery, the rest of society will suffer less and less, as the numbers of these moral incurables are diminished, and as education's day-light shines more brightly upon every other spot of society but their own.

Instruction perfectly adapted to the adult manual-labour population, will require deliberate consideration and arrangement ; but it is certain that much may be done to give them practical notions of their own nature, and of their place in creation and society ; much to remove their more hurtful ignorance, amend their habits, soften down their prejudices, and generally elevate their physical, moral, and intellectual condition. I have already alluded to the association in Edinburgh for procuring cheap lectures on various branches of science ; the distinguished honour of the conception and realization of this institution belongs to a few respectable *tradesmen* * ; and I beg to re-

* The following are the names and occupations of the first year's Directors :—John Cunningham, architect ; W. Fraser, printer ; A. K. Johnston, engraver ; John Castle, clothier ; William Luke, clothier ; John Lorimer, builder ; John Mortimer, tailor ; John Mackay, jeweller ; Robert Selater jun., die-cutter ; A. G. Hunter jun., hatter ; James

fer the reader, for an account of its constitution, proceedings, and most encouraging success in the very first year and half of its existence, to the appendix, No. VI; this is purposely particular, in order to enable him, if interested in the enlightenment of any other considerable town, to join with his fellow-citizens in forming a similar association, and that of the same *rank* in life; for *this*, be it observed, is the grand novelty, which will form a sort of epoch in the history of Edinburgh; and confer upon it a real name, instead of one borrowed from the fame of a few men of genius, whom it has occasionally produced. It is true that the class of students, of both sexes, who attend the lectures of the Edinburgh association, are generally above the class who work for days' wages, though many of them have done so; and accordingly they pay a fee which, moderate as it is, the actual journeyman could not afford. I allude here to that association more to shew the easy practicability of instructing a hitherto uninstructed adult class, than to sanction the demand of money from the mere operative, who comes from his labour to be regaled with useful science; this, like the instruction of the national schools to the young, must, *a fortiori*, to the less favoured adult, be as free as inviting; and the existence of the schools themselves, their teachers, and their scientific *materiel*, will extend it directly,—I have already said it will do so influentially,—without an increase of expense worth the Nation's notice. What were the cost

M'Kean, seal-engraver; James Slight, engineer; Charles Lawson, seedsman; Alexander Campbell, hatmaker; Charles Black, bookseller; Thomas Moffat, bookseller; Robert Wright, linen-draper; William Cunningham, jeweller; James Dowie, bootmaker.

of a few models, drawings, an air-pump, a chemical furnace, an electrifying and galvanic machine, a telescope, a microscope, &c. established in each parish, compared with the delightful and improving occupation of its adult, over and above its juvenile population? The lessened jail to be built and maintained would provide these in every parish of a county,—to say nothing of the almost disbanded police, the reduced military establishment, the empty hospitals, the saved poor's rates.

The Schools of Arts for the instruction of artizans in the practical applications of science, which can only be established in large or considerable towns, will not only not be superseded by any preparatory establishment yet spoken of in this volume, but their usefulness will be thereby increased and extended manifold. These admirable institutions, placed, however, on a more popular footing than they have hitherto been, like all other means of popular improvement, seeing that the whole country benefits by the skill, the industry, the enterprise, and the invention to which they have been found to give birth, ought also to be provided for by the Nation, and not trusted to precarious voluntary support.

2. The next difficulty in the way of the immediate and more distant working of an educational system, is the denial of leisure to the working man. This social enormity, this sacrifice to the Moloch of money, must by some means be abated, else education is vain, and the elevation of the manual-labour class of our countrymen a moral impossibility. The reform must begin in the sanction, by society at large, of less extravagant ideas of accumulation than at present impel all who possess the means, to en-

grossing and ceaseless efforts to make large fortunes. A higher *moral* will impress the conviction that wealth accumulated at the expense of the bodily suffering, moral and intellectual degradation, and religious privation, of a large portion of our fellow men, is obtained by means little short of criminal. However he may despair of any voluntary relaxation of the gripe of avarice fastened on the devoted bodies and souls of the human machines whom it commands, the most impracticable sceptic must admit that all labour beyond the limit of a reasonable, a liberal, return to the capitalist, is a gross abuse, which must be followed by social as well as individual suffering. If this be true, it was not the Creator's intention that manual labour should engross nearly the whole waking hours of a human being. When he bestowed intellect and moral feelings on all his creatures, he intended them in all for exercise and enjoyment; hence it is a gross impiety to force upon any human being a course of life which obliterates these distinctive characters of humanity. Difficult as must be the remedy, for it implies an advance of society at large in morality beyond what it has ever yet manifested, the existing practice is a positive disease, an unnatural state of things, and therefore not only calling for amendment, but admitting of it, else the Creator's arrangements would involve manifest contradiction. Why should manual-labour exceed nine hours a-day? Why should it not, by general consent of employers and employed, be so restricted? Twelve hours is itself a restriction, for why does insatiable avarice content itself with even twelve? It does so in obedience to custom, and it would do so, on the same authority, were nine hours the

maximum. If it is said that less work would be done, less produce realized ; it is granted, but asked who would suffer by this ! Suppose the employer's gains diminished, this is surely not to be put in comparison with the labourer's rights as a human being. But it is not admitted that the employer's gains will be diminished. The difference between nine and twelve hours is not more than to meet the over-trading from which he has so often suffered, and from which he is inevitably, with his present motives, destined to suffer again. In the average of the last fifteen years, the actually profitable labour, that which would have prevented ruinous gluts, and long intervals of idleness and starvation to the workman, will not be found, if spread over the whole time, to amount even to nine hours a-day. Aided, besides, by daily improving machinery, of whose abridgment of human labour surely the operative has a right to a share of the benefit as well as his employer, it might be demonstrated that nine hours a-day of British manual-labour will supply all the *steady* demand that is likely to be made upon it. The shortening of the hours of labour is a moral reform to which the workmen themselves must lend an important aid, in a great improvement of character which will make such a use of the leisure as will secure the sympathies of the entire people. While the leisure desired is at present refused, because it would be spent in idleness and debauchery, there is a moral fitness in the concession of it to self improvement and innocent enjoyment, which render it matter of right. We assume that the manual-labour class are actually improved by education ; one result of this will be juster estimates, by the operatives, of

the labourer's remuneration, more moderate expenditure when debauchery has ceased, the economy of steady habits and sensible methods of living, and an equitable adjustment of wages to work actually done. These it is not likely would much fall, if the shorter hours were universally adopted. This reform must not only affect labour without, but also within, great factories; for the principle is the same in both cases. The factory act itself which has rescued infant *life* from the unhallowed altar of accumulation, stops short of the adequate means of education: it prohibits the employment of children till they are nine years of age, and limits it then to nine hours a-day, till the age of eleven, twelve, and ultimately thirteen: it requires two hours' attendance at school for six days in the week, these hours not being included in the nine. I acknowledge that, besides all the infant school training, such children may have had three years of the advanced school without restraint; but two hours a-day for the more advanced age of that school is too short an attendance; two more, or four hours in all, at least, should be made imperative, the additional two hours to be taken from the nine hours of labour, till the child completes his or her fourteenth year. The parents themselves are, *at present*, as likely to object to this restriction of labour as the employers; but we do not find that *they* have been consulted in the matter of the regulations already imposed; the benevolent object of the legislature was the *child's* good and thereby the good of society; an enlightened lawgiver, acting upon a higher morality, is not bound to regard interests which justice disowns, and may quite as properly fix seven

hours as nine. Seven hours is labour enough for a child under fourteen, independent of all other considerations ; but when this degree of abridgment is essential to the individual's reaping any real and lasting benefit from the educational system proposed, there seems an end of the question. I may add, that an educated generation of manufacturing labourers will value education more than an ignorant and debased ; and will themselves zealously co-operate in the means of their children's enjoying its advantages. As it stands, the factory law will operate as a serious difficulty, amounting to an absolute impediment in the way of the working of a national educational measure, in so far as regards the whole manufacturing population ; but I cannot allow myself to doubt that a modification of that law, to the extent above suggested, would form a part of a great plan of national education ; from the blessings of which it would be grievous injustice and impolicy deliberately to exclude the manufacturing population.

3. The English Poor laws, it is hoped, will not be permitted long, in their present frightful perversion, to act as an impediment to popular education. In the present state of the population, who are reduced to the moral debasement of able-bodied pauperism, the education of their children, if accepted by them even gratuitously, would be inoperative, in the face of the perverted views of life which the allowance-system renders habitual to all the members of all their families. Without an abatement of the grand nuisance of an alms-supported people, education need not be attempted. But the day of that abatement has already dawned, and will not set without

effecting it. It is alluded to here more with the hope of furnishing another motive for perseverance in the reformation of the poor laws, than from any fear that the education measure will find this difficulty existing, to impede its working, when it shall come into operation. I repeat what I formerly stated on this head, that the Commissioners are right, when, in the conclusion of their able report, they declare their conviction, that whatever the law may do to put down its actual practice, the spirit of pauperism will only yield to the moral and intellectual improvement of the working classes, by a national system of education.

4. The Criminal population must be unsparingly segregated from the innocent, if it is wished to remove yet another counteracting power to the operation of education. Every criminal is a centre of corruption to the young. The havoc made by practised proselytising thieves among the young, even among the infant, poor, is notorious ; and would continue to overbalance all that education is capable of doing with the class immediately exposed to the contamination of their society. I have elsewhere* endeavoured to shew, that criminals ought not to mingle at all with honest society ; that a state of restraint and seclusion must come to be the lot of all convicted offenders ; a distinct society, an asylum, an hospital fitted for their disease, in which they must remain, maintaining themselves by their own labour, till it be safe to receive them again into ordinary society. Live somewhere and in some way they must ; at present they roam, like beasts of prey, in the midst of us, plundering

* Appendix No. I.

and often maiming and murdering the unsuspecting. Society is entitled to full protection from this monstrous evil; and should provide, what it may do without any sacrifice either of property or feeling, another mode of life for its dangerous members, with the means at once of subsistence and reformation. This purification of society would be one of the greatest benefits which could be conferred upon it; and the practicability of its attainment, it is hoped, will be admitted by the reader when he has perused, which he is requested to do, the treatise in the appendix.

II. OBSTACLES.

None of the difficulties just treated of are of a nature, or will occur in a class of the people, likely to influence the fate of the plan of popular education, as a legislative measure. Under the title of obstacles I am briefly to consider obstructions, by influence or other means, to the measure becoming the law of the land.

1. The first obstacle is of a negative, but not therefore less powerful, nature, namely, public indifference. There is an apathy, on the subject, in the great majority of the educated classes, which would be altogether unaccountable, considering the important interest of every member of society in the general enlightenment, on any other conceivable ground but ignorance of that importance, arising from, what was formerly called, the imperfect education of the educated classes themselves. Hopes may be indulged of this obstacle. It will give way to information; it will yield to the persevering efforts of the press, the reflex influence of legislative discussion, and the au-

thority of the men to whom the public are accustomed to look as guides of their opinions. There is more hope of the apathy of ignorance, than of the self-satisfaction of contentment with matters as they are. There are many who look upon the current education for all ranks in this country, as a model of perfection. As the Edinburgh Review, (No. 116, page 541), says, "We are even ignorant of our wants. In fact the difficulty of all educational improvement in Britain, lies less in the amount, however enormous, of work to be performed, than in the notion that not a great deal is requisite. Our pedagogical ignorance is only equalled by our pedagogical conceit; and where few are competent to understand, all believe themselves qualified to decide." The habit, now 150 years old, of lauding the Scottish parochial schools, and crediting them with *all* the intelligence and morality which is said, to an extent beyond all truth, to characterise the manual-labour class of our countrymen, has been, and is yet, an obstacle of the self-complacent kind. This can only be expected to yield to evidence of its own absurdity, and a comparison of what parish schools are, with what they may be made. Just views of what education ought to be, and of the immeasurable distance between *that* and what it has hitherto been, added to a more sensible practical belief than the prevailing, that if schools *de facto* exist education is provided for, be these schools and their teachers what they may, will all tend to lessen the force of the obstacles of indifference and contentment, and ultimately to remove them entirely.

2. The remoteness of the beneficial results of the plan at first sight presents an obstacle to its adoption. This

motive to opposition has been already alluded to. It were to legislate, it is said, for posterity—to sow what *we* shall not live to reap, &c.—all as before enumerated. If it were true, as it is not, that we of the present generation shall derive no benefit from the progress, nay even from the commencement of this moral revolution, we should be bound, nevertheless, to effect it, when, in the nature of things, it can only be accomplished by one generation, to be fully enjoyed by another. It is a low morality which would recklessly throw our burdens upon our successors, to work out their deliverance from these as they may, but refuse the slightest sacrifice for their benefit. A succeeding generation owes its existence to the present, and has a claim, in justice as well as benevolence, to inherit all our accumulations of wealth and knowledge, and a right to reproach us with a great sin in the Creator's sight, if we have selfishly shrunk from the duty which he has inscribed on His great plan, that one generation shall often sow the seed, that another may gather the harvest. This duty extends from the planting of a young tree, to the enlightening of a people. To decline our share in the means of the progression of the human race, when we have arrived at light enough to shew us the way, would be a moral prostration which would stigmatise an age. No ! No ! This will never be the reproach of a generation which has just struck off the chains of a million of slaves ! Such an act exalts a people above all the barbarous glory of battles fought and regions conquered. Its record is on high, far beyond the loftiest region to which the eagles of a Cæsar or a Napoleon ever soared. History has opened a bright,

a spotless, a virgin page, for that achievement. Shame to the British people if she shall ever close that page again !

I rejoice in this occasion of illustrating, by so fine an example, the *direct* enjoyment which, it was formerly said, results from the exercise of the moral sentiments. Benevolence, Justice, and Veneration will feel delight in the very thought of the realization of a plan to enlighten, and morally and religiously elevate, a whole people ; will eagerly forward it, and purchase it at any price of treasure and of labour. A legitimate self-esteem is well entitled here to supply its share of motive, and make us proud that, in the course of Providence, it has fallen to *our* times to do this great thing ; to preside over the culture, assured that our children, and our children's children, will gather the increase. Yes ! there *are* minds of glorious loftiness,—minds that would do a deed to bless mankind, and be content to die. Lavoisier waited the moment when a great truth should be revealed in the results of a scientific process in which he was intensely engaged, when they came to lead him to the scaffold. He entreated to have three days granted him to crown the great work of the new chemistry. Robespierre refused an hour, and, like the catif who struck down Archimedes, murdered Lavoisier ! Heroism like this is not now before us ; but I trust there are many of my countrymen, who, if it were propounded to them, whether their satisfaction would be the greater, to aid in effecting the glorious scheme of Popular Education, or to live in another generation and passively taste its fruits, would choose the glory of the enterprise, rather than the sweets of the

result; and would avow that there is an expansion of feeling, a dilatation of heart, a lofty ambition even, in being permitted to be the actors in a work to have such consequences in another generation, which gives them to live, as it were, in both periods, to enjoy alike the springtide and the autumn, and, like Abraham, to see the day afar off and be glad.

But besides the rich reward of the consciousness of having done a great duty, we shall not go unbenefitted more substantially in our own day. The more we reflect upon what was called the *reaction* on the adult of the improvement of the young who live under the same roof with him, the more we shall see reason to expect a general melioration speedily to spread as widely as our schools are established; while the very existence, in every parish in the country, of a teacher of useful knowledge, who, when not occupied with the young, may, by many means, as already observed, enlighten their seniors, and thereby render the circulation of cheap periodical literature and knowledge yet more improving to them, will realize one of the most powerful engines of humanization, of which it is possible to conceive. The whole population, juvenile and adult, will be placed in a new position, the one rapidly advancing, the other unwilling, nay ashamed,—for this even is much,—to remain behind; and the effects will be made sensible to us all in a well marked melioration even of our own times.

3. A more substantial obstacle to the gigantic measure proposed, is its admitted and avowed costliness. It will require much light to reconcile the country to contribute millions to produce distant benefits, and these

not yet appreciated or acknowledged. But no price is enormous which is not out of rule, out of proportion, to the thing purchased. The elevation of an entire people by education is beyond all price. Two thousand millions lavished on the *wars* of the last and the present century is indeed an enormous expenditure, when we sit down to estimate the value received. Should we deem even that almost inconceivable sum misspent, if its result, and its sole result, had been the education of the British people? The one-hundredth part of this treasure has abolished colonial slavery; what would a like amount not do in the object before us; and would any enlightened mind say that that object would not be cheaply purchased! How much should we not cherish peace, and avoidance of all great public expenditure, while national education is yet to be provided for!

4. I was about to enumerate among the obstacles a yet lingering prejudice against educating the people at all, but I feel almost ashamed to do so, at this time of day. A few observations were submitted upon this topic at the close of the first chapter. The prejudice is a remnant of the worst times, and its detection to be so is as old as Aristotle, who observed, that it is only a system of government which sacrifices the many to the few that dreads the diffusion of knowledge, which qualifies men to know and assert their rights; whereas a good government encourages education, were it for nothing else than to enable the governed to appreciate the blessings which they enjoy. But it ought to be recollected by the most wedded to old habits of judging, that the time has gone by for conserving that popular ignorance in which they

erroneously think that innocence is enshrined ; the least informed of the manual-labour class in this country can detect a lurking *politics* in the pious concern that the poor man shall learn to read his Bible, *but no more*. To read his Bible with application and effect, every intelligent person knows, he ought to learn a great deal more. But it were to recapitulate this treatise, to state what that *more* should be ; and with a general reference to what has been said as to what the poor man's education should be, to render him at once good and happy, and withal the *safe* member of society which the restrictor of his knowledge would wish him to be ;—I shall pass on from the humiliating objection.

5. There are too many lucrative incumbences and exclusive privileges dependent upon the continued reign of the defective education, which at present cheats both the poor and the rich, to allow us to expect that a fundamental change in principle and practice, whose operation will be to impoverish the incumbencies and annihilate the privileges, will be effected without the most strenuous opposition,—the most strenuous certainly of all,—from those interested quarters. The opposition of principle is often keen, but the obstruction of interest is always furious,—there is no surer test of its presence. An enlightened and honest legislature will, of course, give every interest the most deliberate consideration, and provide for all direct, and not merely consequential, loss, adequate compensation ; but this is not the age for sacrificing a great national good to any mere interest or mere privilege whatever. It is superfluous here to say another

word on this topic; existing interests require no more than a place in our catalogue of obstacles.

6. But sectarian zeal yet remains, and that has hitherto been, and will yet be, the most formidable obstacle with which a NATIONAL system of popular education will have to contend. There exist between seventy and eighty sects of Christians. The zealots of every sect most conscientiously entertain the opinion that the only chance for the youth of the country obtaining what IT calls a religious education, is to place the sole direction of education, secular and religious, in ITS peculiar hands. Most sects, so empowered, would then proceed to instil into the young, nay, even the infant mind, *theology* almost exclusively. This is the only idea the sects, if zealous, attach to education on a religious basis. It must *begin* with the creed and catechism of the sect, and never for a moment be permitted to lose sight of either. The consequence is, that *both* become objects of tedium and disgust, and neither religious nor secular knowledge is attained. No one can have read this treatise without observing that religious education, or, what is the same thing, education on a religious basis, is strenuously advocated in it; only a different mode, and a different *order* of inculcation are recommended, because of the signal failure of the prevailing method. While, in the order proposed, secular education *precedes* the inculcation of Revelation, it cannot be said by the most scrupulous that it *excludes* it. By secular education the pupil is introduced to the God of Nature. He desiderates a Creator as the author of the wonders unfolded to him in creation, and, as it were, *discovers* him in his works. Thus prepared,

he proceeds to find that the God of Nature is the God of Revelation. Is it wise to reverse this order? Is it not impious to exclude one-half of it? There is, in most countries, and our own among the rest, one sect *politically* stronger than the other; and the impression is not unnatural, among its less instructed adherents, that *therefore* its doctrines and discipline must be right, and those of all other sects wrong. Its better informed members do not found its merits on its political strength, but conscientiously believing that their sect is the soundest, see no harm in using their political connection to extend their influence,—that influence being by them, of course, identified with the cause of true religion. Into the hands of the dominant sect education has, *de facto*, fallen almost exclusively. In England, and in Scotland too, every school is under clerical superintendence, and four out of five teachers are, in some degree or other, in clerical orders. There was another reason for this than a concern for the interests of religion, when the custom began. The clergy were the only educated persons, hence their name, and the only persons capable of educating others. Laymen were educated by the monks, who kept daily school in the convents. There is a habit of thinking hence arising, centuries old, that it is quite natural that the clergy should educate the young. But it is too instructive to be here left unnoticed, that the dominant sect in one of the two kingdoms of the British Union, is not the dominant sect in the other; and that each of the two dominant sects avails itself of its political alliance, in the country where it is dominant, to prevent the other from educating the youth of that country,

as *not* worthy of confidence in giving education a religious basis ; and the solecism stares us in the face of existing laws, sanctioned by the *same* legislature,—for they are sanctioned when unrepealed,—declaring BOTH the dominant sects unworthy of the care of the education of youth * ! The practical conclusion from this ineffable position of our statute-book, is too obvious to require to be drawn in words. It recalls the appropriate reply (without disrespectful application to either of our two dominant sects), of the patron of a vacant office, when beset by a dozen of suitors, whose recommendations, by each of himself, resolved into insinuations or direct declarations that the other eleven were scoundrels ; the dispenser of the place waited till the whole twelve had thus denounced each other, when he assembled and informed them that he sincerely believed them all.

The dominant sect on the southern side of the Tweed has been not only more jealous of its legalized control over education, but from its direct share in the legislature, over and above its indirect influence, it possesses much more power to guard and vindicate that control, than belongs to the dominant sect on the north of the same river ; and it has resulted from this that the former has, when it was thought necessary, always moved with greater energy and greater effect than the latter. Iden-

* This is actually true. The English laws not only exclude the presbyterians of Scotland from *teaching* in any public school or college, but exclude them, when only *learning*, from obtaining the evidence of their completed studies. The Scotch laws do not exclude learners, but teachers in the universities and public schools must *qualify* by signing the Confession of Faith.

tifying religion with the church establishment, it was long thought reason enough to object to any measure, that it endangered the church; and, for generations, there was an approved watchword for the hour of fancied peril. That cry has come so much into disrepute, from its notorious and truly unconcealable political and patrimonial meaning, that we have nearly ceased to hear it. It has therefore become imperative to substitute for it something more entitled to respect, namely, that *religion* is in danger. But seeing that, in many cases, one sect alone sees this danger, and that the dominant sect, while all the rest deny it, the chances are seventy or eighty to one that it is not religion which is in danger, but the forms and endowments of it which distinguish and pertain to one sect, which happens to be dominant, and to rest on political power; and this just brings us back to the old watchword, that the *church* is in danger. The symptoms of this lurking truth cannot be mistaken by the impartial. When in England there existed no means whatever, either secular or religious, for educating the manual-labour classes, the dominant sect was tranquil and contented; religion was in no danger when nothing was taught at all. But when the discovery was made, that, by a particular method, instruction might be conveyed to large numbers at once, and the education of the mass of the people be thereby made cheap and practicable, the dominant sect roused itself from its long repose, and violently obstructed the noble plan. Its promoter was a dissenter. He pleaded, in vain, that his method of dispensing secular education to numbers under one instructor, did not and could not injure *religion*, inasmuch as, in or-

der to be useful to the children of seventy or eighty sects, it did not teach the doctrines of any one of these sects, and carefully avoided going beyond the admitted basis of them all. This was satisfactory to nearly all sects except the politically dominant and nationally endowed. Religion, by almost all other sects, was held to be perfectly safe, each sect reserving the means in its power to inculcate its peculiar doctrines on the children of its own members. It was intellectually and morally impossible that *this* was not the secret conviction of the leaders of the dominant sect ; and, accordingly, the objection changed its character, and came to be, that *no religion* was taught under the new system. Now this, had it been true, which it was not, was precisely the kind of provision *previously* made by the dominant sect itself for religious education,—that is, no provision at all. A-propos, another apostle of the *same* new system arose, who, although resident in the antipodes, chanced to be of the sect dominant in England, and was willing to give to *its* religious forms and discipline a prominent place in his practice ; and although he did not make the minutest variation in the *principle* of the new system, the credit of introducing which to the British people was his rival's, he was brought home, identified with the new method, and the very name of the other annihilated. What will an enlightened and more moral posterity say to this ! In Scotland, as an additional proof at once of the Lancastrian system not being dangerous to *religion*, and of a less prevalent identification of religion with the dominant sect, there was a very general disapprobation of the course pursued by the adherents of the sister Church, and

the system and the name of Lancasterian continued, and still continues to be adopted and used in Scotland, where all sects are found in the classes of the schools; while in England the national or Bell schools are avoided by all sects that conscientiously dissent from the church.

The next noted occasion for the opposition of the dominant sect in England, was the plan of facilitating the acquisition of secular education to the great population of London, by the establishment of a University. As it would have been to limit its usefulness, to have inculcated religion in it according to the doctrines of any particular sect, it was resolved that revealed religion directly taught—for natural religion is taught in every step of science—should not be included in its plan, which was limited to secular knowledge; and that was considered perfectly consistent with religious safety, seeing there existed the most extensive and best endowed machinery for its inculcation without the walls of the University, all over the country. No disinterested or impartial person, capable of judging, could possibly find fault with this most reasonable compromise, which was necessary to render the new institution extensively useful. In Scotland, the great majority approved the plan of the London University, as an institution for the specific object of secular knowledge, in which there was nothing more incompatible with religion, than in a course of instruction in the fine arts, or the physical sciences; certainly nothing nearly so inconsistent with Christianity, as a course of authorised heathenism in the Greek and Latin Classics, which the Church have not only not discovered to be dangerous

to religion, but have connected with its study ;—so inconsistent are the acts and judgments of men, when inferior feelings lurk in their motives. Yet no opposition was deemed too strong, no obloquy too acrimonious, for the London University, “ that God-excluding seminary !” The folly of this last imputation—seeing that no seminary which teaches science, can for one instant exclude God—becomes something worse when it is the cry of a sect, which presumptuously identifies God with *its* own exclusive dogmas ; and greatly worse still, if there mingles one atom of worldly interest or political partizanship in the most incogitate denunciation. It was to be expected that the dominant sect, which never before thought of a University to protect religion in London, should forthwith find that instrument indispensable to religious safety, and King’s College owed its birth to the purest zeal for that religion which the seminary in Gower Street endangered.

The balance thus restored in the Metropolis, the dominant sect was at ease, and went to bed again for a few years, when it was summoned to the post of danger a third time, by the alarm that a national plan was on foot for the education of the mass of the people in Ireland, in which, to render it available, not only to Protestants but to Catholics, it was resolved to exclude creeds and catechisms, and inculcate Scripture by lessons introductory to the Sacred Volume, differing in no respect from the method of all persons who treat of Scripture with children. In vain it was arranged that the pastors of any sects, having children attending the National schools, should, at stated periods, *come into the very school-houses*, and assemble, each their own pupils, for their own

religious instruction ; that was nothing to the dominant sect ; nay, was, beyond all doubt, the part of the plan it most disliked. But a tangible ground for a cry was necessary, and perhaps a more insensate, if not unfair, never was devised,—the lessons were said to be “ mutilations” of the Holy Scriptures ! That which has been and is done in the school books, and school and pastoral teaching of the whole empire, beyond all memory of man,—that which must be done when a chapter or text is *selected* from an entire Bible, which the pupil holds in his hand at the moment, when he is asked to tell what he has read, was called mutilation of the Sacred Volume ! * But the most humiliating fact in this opposition remains behind ; it was discovered and made public that the plan proposed for the national schools of Ireland, was the literal transcript of a plan to which the dominant sect made no objection, when that plan was proposed by another party in the state four years before. This gave a new aspect to the opposition to the national system ; it connected it with politics, and annihilated all its moral weight, and of course its efficiency. A rival system is in steady operation, according to the old established custom, which excludes the Catholics, or four-fifths of the population.

There cannot be a better way of testing the reasonableness of all this, than trying how the converse looks when another exclusive, though in Britain happily not

* In the Appendix No. VII., will be found an extract from the Irish Commissioners’ first Report, printed by order of the House of Commons. It is most satisfactory. Scripture reading, in any form, should be optional to Catholics, Jews, &c.

dominant, sect distinguishes itself in the matter of school instruction. In Glasgow there are estimated to be 27,000 Catholics, constituting, according to Dr Cleland, the very lowest class of the people. The following is an extract from a small volume, entitled “ Infant training, a dialogue explanatory of the system adopted in the Model Infant School, Glasgow, by a Director.” “ During the spring of last year (1832) about sixty Catholic children were enrolled in an Infant School, with the full consent of their parents, who, in every case, brought their children, and paid the ordinary quarter’s wages in advance. No sooner, however, did their *superiors* discover one of the Society’s hand-bills, descriptive of the general object and bearing of such establishments, which had been widely circulated among the families in the neighbourhood, than on the following week every child was withdrawn, and no parent has yet returned to claim any part of the wages so advanced. Since that period, out of the surrounding dense Catholic population, an occasional mother has brought her child, and continues to do it, as if by stealth. The mother hurriedly pays the wages, expresses great desire to have her child taught ‘ *in Bible stories*, equal to neighbour such a one’s,’ enjoining at the same time the utmost secrecy, lest by any possibility her name might reach the ears of certain high officials. This *frightful* hand-bill, was framed by the Reverend Dr Welsh of St David’s, Glasgow, now Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, and, during the last six years, has been uniformly used in every hand-bill respecting Infant Schools. It runs as follows :—

“ Infant Schools are intended for the reception of children from the age of two to that of six years, with the view of imbuing their minds with the knowledge of religious truths—of training them up in habits of obedience and good order, and of giving them such elementary instruction as will enable them to enter with advantage into parochial and other schools.’ The plan of communicating religious truth is by the narratives, the precepts, and plainest announcements of Scripture.”

What is the practical inference from such facts as these ? Is it not that the example of Prussia should be followed ; and, in order that the schools to be provided *by* the nation shall be beneficial *to* the nation, that all direction of the schools of secular instruction shall be denied to sects, as such, dominant and dissenting ; and that all schools shall be constituted on the principle adopted by the Model Infant Schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and by many others, both infant and advanced, all over the country. The author begs to protest against the construction of one word above written, as intending disrespect to the dominant sect of either England or Scotland. To the latter he himself belongs ; but has never considered himself as a member of more than of a sect ; while he entertains charitable and respectful feelings towards all other conscientious sectarians. Were he to enter a child of his own at the infant or advanced school, under the proposed national plan, he would do so without demanding or expecting any deference to his own dogmas more than was shewn, or he should wish to be shewn, to those of any other sectarian who placed his child there. He would know that his chief object for

his child *in school* was secular knowledge, and that he possessed another, and, in his own view, a much fitter school, elsewhere, for religious instruction, in which the pastors of his own persuasion are the teachers ; but he should be sorry indeed to see even those pastors influencing the general religious inculcation of the secular school, and thereby driving away from it the children of all other conscientious sects. The author is further aware that what he has now said will be approved of by a very large proportion of the clergy of Scotland, many of whom sanction and give active assistance to infant and other schools established upon what is called the liberal footing.

Nothing more is wanted than the degree of liberality now advocated to obtain for Britain at large the invaluable boon of popular education. If dominant sects are listened to, we shall never see the day of its coming ; our people will remain uneducated secularly, uneducated religiously, and in their present state of debasement and suffering. It is trusted, it is entreated, that the conscientious of the dominant sects will lay the state of the question to heart, for it has come to this issue, EDUCATION TO EMBRACE ALL SECTS, OR NO EDUCATION ! Let them not, by holding out, defeat both our object and their own. The Government once persuaded that this is the alternative,—and there can be little doubt that they are so persuaded, and moreover that a large majority of the Legislature are so too,—ought not to wait till they succeed in removing prejudices and reconciling clashing interests. On them a tremendous responsibility rests ; the state of the country calls for the education of the people with a voice which overwhelms

the dull and feeble tone of sectarian opposition. An immense increase of political power has been given to a class as yet but imperfectly educated. Is it reasonable to expect a wise use of that power, without a great enlargement of the means of education? Let the opponents of such extension of enlightenment reflect that they cannot deprive the people of their political power, by refusing them the means of using it well and wisely. Finally, let the people do their duty to themselves, and demand from the nation that intellectual and moral elevation, to which their burdens, their labour, their common nature, entitle them.

III. ENCOURAGEMENTS.

Difficulties and obstacles, let us hope, lessened or removed, the author's concluding topic has a more animating title. Our hopes that the day of popular enlightenment has actually dawned are various.

1. The Press has for some time powerfully advocated this grand necessity. The lead has been taken by the *Edinburgh Review*. A greater proportion of its pages have been devoted by this Journal to the subject, than by any other; and there has been a gradual enlargement of its views during the last sixteen years; so as to give reason to hope, that it will soon go all the lengths of this treatise. Decidedly next it in labour and liberality, and equal in eloquence and power, on the subject, is the *Foreign Quarterly Review*. The *Westminster Review* advocates popular education; the *Quarterly Review* fears the effect of over-educating.

The Quarterly Journal of Education, published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, now thirteen numbers old, is an invaluable repository of information and sound principle. The labours of this Society, generally, are above all praise.

Professor Pillans, of the University of Edinburgh, in his "Letters to Thomas Kennedy, Esq. M. P.," and late one of the Lords of the Treasury, has made a powerful contribution to the light existing on the subject; especially by exposing the absurdities which are, to this day, sanctioned in schools. Mr Combe's Lectures have been already referred to, as have Dr Drummond's Letters. The daily and weekly press afford more examples of zealous national educationists than I have space to enumerate. In London, the Courier, Times, Morning Chronicle, Herald, Spectator, and Examiner, may be particularized. In Edinburgh, the Scotsman is pre-eminent on the subject, having, in December and January 1828-9, published a series of leading articles, which might be collected into a volume worthy of the front rank of the discussion. The Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle ably supports the same cause, as a direct consequence of its liberal and philanthropic principles. In Glasgow, the Free Press advocates national education; and throughout the provincial press there is much doing to reconcile the country to the gigantic effort which they *must* soon be called upon to make. Chambers's Journal, Information for the People, and Historical Newspaper, with their immense circulation, are pillars of the cause. In short, the reading public are busy with the subject: it meets them wherever they turn; it concludes every official report of

inquirers into the state of the manual-labour classes, in all their relations and conditions, as the panacea, the *sine qua non*, of their permanent improvement; while the *want* is felt by all whose duties or avocations bring them into contact with the manual-labour population.

2. If pride be a legitimate motive for nations, our's ought to be piqued by the fact—I am inclined to call it the *encouraging* fact—that we are outstripped in the educational race by other countries. In the United States, Boston is a-head of us in achievement, and decidedly in intention. Germany is our teacher, not merely in the matured national plan of Prussia, so often referred to, but very generally over the empire. I have seen, for example, and wish I had space to detail, an account of the valuable education given at Hesse Cassel, and Göttingen. It is after the Pestalozzian method of *reality*, and, besides all the usual and instrumentary branches admirably taught, includes useful knowledge, practical scientific study, manual labour, and bodily exercise; while Latin is taught to those only who desire it. A youth educated in this manner presents an instructive contrast to any thing our ordinary schools can boast of; and the pupils, be it marked, *leave* the school at fifteen, and often at fourteen. France has sent a special educational mission to Prussia, and is proceeding rapidly in the establishment of a similar system. The grant of last year, for national education, was L. 600,000! The British Legislature, in the same year, voted L. 20,000, without any very obviously useful application, in the present diversity of deficiency which characterizes education all over the country; but every friend to the great cause rejoices that a

grant has been made at all: it is *real* evidence of the *animus* of the government, and will operate as a test of the feelings of the public. I am not aware that a voice has been raised against it, either in or out of Parliament.

3. The encouragement by the government of the object of national education, has manifested itself in other ways besides the grant just alluded to. Information is sought for *officially* of the state of education throughout the country. A Home-office circular has lately been issued to teachers all over the empire, ordering returns of the number of pupils, *their religious persuasions*, education communicated, salaries of teachers, &c. The Lord Chancellor has likewise addressed extensively the trustees of public charities, inquiring if they are inclined to concur in a consolidation of their funds for the purposes of national education. The subject has been often incidentally discussed in both Houses of Parliament, with scarcely an unfriendly voice to the project of popular education as a national object; and, on one day last session, the subject was brought boldly before the House of Commons, by the member for Bath, who moved resolutions, that the House should pledge itself to an early consideration of the great measure of popular education; and particularized the necessity of an infant school, and school of industry, in every parish. The resolutions were negatived solely on the ground of their involving a pledge, which was thought premature; but the discussion elicited the feeling of the House, and it was decidedly favourable to popular education. Since that discussion, the Lord Chancellor, long the most zealous, and now the most powerful, champion of national education, in his late

speech at York, may be said to have declared to the country, from authority, the readiness of the Government and the Legislature to extend the blessing of education, as soon as the people are prepared in earnest to ask for it. His own exertions have been truly herculean. His memorable speech, in the House of Commons, on 8th March 1818, is an epoch in the history of the cause. The Education Committee of 1818, was of his suggestion, and he himself was the most enlightened and efficient member of it. What has been called its Digest of information on the state of the country, and its wants in the matter of education, is a statistical document of great value ; and the “ Practical Observations” which he published, have done much to remove prejudices and ignorances on the subject. It is now sixteen years since these discussions, and since Mr Brougham’s famous Education bill ; yet popular education, as the Lord Chancellor observed at York, has not much advanced. It is earnestly hoped, that he himself is disposed to think that a much bolder and higher act of legislation is absolutely necessary, than he at first contemplated ; that the new political position of the people, then undreamed of, demands it ; and that the public mind, greatly advanced beyond what he had to struggle with in 1818, is much better prepared for its realization.

4. The meeting of teachers, held on the 15th March current at Dumfries, is well worthy of notice, as a sign of the times. Their resolutions on the necessity of great improvement in the modes of education all over the country, in imitation of Germany, Prussia, France, and America, their unqualified condemnation of the engrossing

and useless study of Latin and Greek,—their concurrence in the enlightened views of Mr Combe,—and their formation of themselves into an association *, have been hailed by all the friends of national education, to whose knowledge they have come, as highly honourable to all concerned.

5. The last, and not the least, encouragement consists in the actual improvement made and making in the *substance* of education itself, in the British dominions. In the possession of Infant schools, alone, we have an advantage fully equalling all that is enjoyed by the countries alluded to as before us in other respects, but which have not yet adopted these, the only means of efficient moral training. There are, in England, schools of *real* knowledge, in which almost every thing is taught recommended in chapter V. of this treatise. There are Dr Mayo's school at Cheam in Surry, and the establishments of the Messrs Hill at Hazelwood, near Birmingham, and Bruce Castle at Tottenham near London; and it is well known, that these schools serve as models to others, and that the system of imparting real useful knowledge to the young is extending. In Mr Bruce's Academy, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in addition to the usual branches, which need not be enumerated, the following philosophical courses are taught:—"Chemistry, electricity, magnetism, and pneumatics, as connected with physical geography, meteorology, &c.; natural history, with reference especially to the mechanism and physiology of the human frame—making Paley's Natural Theology the text book, —mental philosophy, the evidences of Christianity," &c.

* The Dumfries and Galloway Education Society.

There is a seminary in Bath, under the direction of Messrs Clark, which bears a close resemblance to that of Mr Bruce. The Belfast Academy, under Principal Bryce, has been for several years far in advance of every seminary of which I have heard in Ireland, and equal to any one in this country. Dr Drummond is Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Royal Institution of that town, and has greatly contributed to its repute, especially as a naturalist. In 1828, mineralogy and geology were added to the usual course of geography. Into the study of these subjects, the pupils, *from eight to eighteen* years of age, ALL entered with the greatest alacrity ; insomuch that some apprehension was at first entertained of these fascinating pursuits leading them away from their regular studies. But instead of this being the case, there was speedily a marked improvement in the manner in which the other duties were performed, by those who had given themselves most passionately to mineralogy and geology. The National education of Ireland has been already alluded to, and its school-books ; which, fortunately before finishing this essay, I have seen. They are nine small volumes, from the price of twopence for thirty-six pages, to sixpence for 150, and one shilling for 360, neatly boarded and covered with linen. The books for teaching to read are called the first and second books of lessons. There is a small volume on arithmetic and another on book-keeping. The volume on the elements of geometry is a translation from the French of the first part of Clairaut's Geometry, which applies the geometrical propositions to useful purposes as they follow each other ; this is a very sensible manner of mathematical inculca-

tion for the benefit of the manual-labour student. The third book of lessons is Pestalozzian, and has *objects* for its matter; but certainly not so systematically as Dr Mayo's, which it would have been much better to have adopted. The fourth book of lessons has a great variety of contents, viz. Natural History, Geography, Religious and Moral lessons, *Political economy and useful Arts*, Poetry, &c., with a useful appendix of prefixes, affixes, and Latin and Greek roots. The other two volumes contain the Scripture lessons, the one from the Old and the other from the New Testament. Although they are abstracts of or *exercises on Scripture*, not Scripture itself, they are nearly given in Scripture language, and, when not, the passage is put within brackets. They are excellent specimens of what every parent tries to do, and to teach the child to do, namely, to tell Scripture stories, and apply Scripture precepts, in their own way, in order to induce them to read them in the Bible. The outcry against them, where honest, is utterly unreflecting. It is presumed, that the series of manuals is not yet finished, as there is none upon chemistry, or mechanical science. As manuals, the Irish books are well composed and selected; but they are detached and separate, and do not belong to a system. They may, like many other equally good school-books, furnish hints to the framers of a comprehensive and systematic Code of education, but they will by no means supersede it. Above all, the National system of Ireland makes no provision for Infant education.

In Scotland, we have had for a number of years Mr Wood's school in Edinburgh, in every way excellent, except in omitting practice on realities, and scientific

exercises ; the Circus Place School, which was established upon the *real* system, though it is rather thought not to have very rigidly adhered to it; and much of the best of both, in the Davy Street Lancasterian School, taught by Mr Dun. Mr Cunningham's Edinburgh Institution has already been mentioned, and a letter from him is published in the appendix. The allusion to him suggests the system of Mr James Black*, for teaching a language simultaneously to any number that can hear his voice, or see his illustrations,—the whole pupils repeating the words after him for the sake of pronunciation. The author has witnessed this mode of teaching, and has had occasion to see proofs of its success, both in Latin and French. Mr Black has been for two years settled in Glasgow ; and, under the sanction of the Principal and the Senatus Academicus of the University, has lectured in the Humanity Class-room to crowded and approving audiences. His system is well worthy of consideration in any plan of abridging the time devoted to the acquisition of languages.

These various improvements, in the substance of education, in actual existence and operation within the three kingdoms, are enumerated among the encouragements to the friends of a National plan, inasmuch as they furnish the materials, already tried and proved, which, with a little arrangement, may be combined into a complete system of popular education, on sound practical principles. I use the term popular, as including the entire people. The parish schools, as they *then* would be, will bring the choicest education, for children from two to fourteen years of age, to the doors of all the rural inhabitants ; and as-

* Late English Preceptor to the Duc de Bordeaux.

semble children of *all ranks* in the same school-hall, as they now meet in the same church. The well trained child of the peasant will bring no contamination to the child of the squire ; on the contrary, their early association in the interesting occupation of moral and intellectual improvement, will at once afford the means, so much desired, of softening down that harsh ridge, which at present separates the manual-labour class from those above them, with all the jealousy of *caste*, and all its hatred, hostility, and danger ; and of laying a foundation for that respect and kindly feeling towards our externally less favoured fellow-men, which, in the certainty of a return from them of good will to us, would change into moral sunshine on the universal face of society, that scowling “winter of our discontent,” which, in the nature of the moral world, is the effect of the reign of the selfish faculties. In large towns, the indiscriminate mixture of all ranks in the National schools might at first sight be a subject of hesitation ; but it is just in great towns where it will be less called for, till it can be safely trusted ; as the means of separate education will there be more easily procured. But those who in towns have recourse to schools of their own, will do well to model them on the National school plan.

The repugnance to endure contact with the lower classes, even in the pure and elevated exercises of intellectual and moral pursuits, it is perhaps scarcely fair to lay to the account, *in all*, of the inferior feeling of pride, exclusively. In some, no doubt, there is a constitutional haughtiness, vain-glory, and selfishness, which reap self-consequence from the very contemplation of a large mass

of social inferiority. To their predominating *inferior* faculties it would be positive pain to witness an upward movement, from that low level which they feel to be necessary to contrast with and give full effect to their gentility. Nay, even in more generous minds, there is a sort of fixed custom of separation, a habit of feeling as if the line of demarcation were of nature's own drawing, but a feeling originating in the unconcealed haughtiness of barbarism, and disowned by utterly unheeded Christianity, which has become the *maniere d'être* of a greatly more advanced society. This is too strong for even more generous sentiments which would *wish* to see the line removed, by the insensible operation of a self-elevating progression in the humbler classes. While the actual inferiority, physical, intellectual, and moral, of these classes, in all that renders human intercourse desirable, has resulted from the "abandonment" to which they have been "left;" yet the very existence of that grossness, from which refinement shrinks, is a formidable obstruction to that contact, which, to a considerable extent, must be the first step of a process of popular improvement, and which, as that improvement advances, must and will extend. We have more *antigothic* lessons to learn than many are aware of, before the causes will disappear which entail upon society so much suffering and so much insecurity.

A *moral* reform, of a nature and magnitude which will reduce our *political* to an insignificant item in the account of inevitable human progress, is no longer optional to us. It is vain to attempt to banish from our thoughts the unwelcome necessity, the severe trial to our selfishness, of *condescending* to be just, benevolent, and Christian; it

is ignorant barbarism to scorn and ridicule "the Utopian fancy." If, on a sound interpretation of the Creator's design, as manifested in his works, and confirmed in his Word, it must be admitted that there is much of what is called "false position" in society; in other words, that the propensities or law in the members, almost to the exclusion of the sentiments or law in the mind, regulate or rather derange the social system;—if money-getting and sensual enjoyment shall continue to be the business of life;—and, as the cost of these, the bodies, minds and souls of seven-eighths of our countrymen, shall remain unheeded by us;—if we shall hug to our bosoms our invidious distinctions, and our accumulations often far exceeding all reasonable superfluity; while a moderate relaxation of our grasp would ease the strained sinews of the social frame, to their remotest vibration, and allow to ourselves a disengaged hand to aid, and to our relieved fellow men the time and the capability to receive, the intellectual, moral, and religious blessings, for a participation in which, faculties were given them by an All-wise God,—then let us not complain that our heavy social evils are not removed, and that we live in constant insecurity, dissatisfaction, and alarm. It is exploded drivelling to call this a levelling of all distinctions. No distinction of God's appointment, none that ought to exist in well constituted society, none on which Christianity does not frown, will or can be levelled. Worth and talent, and even wealth duly regulated, will ever continue to distinguish their possessors; and these will suffer no diminution, no degradation, by the elevation of a once neglected suffering mass to a higher level of tem-

poral enjoyment, and eternal hope, than they actually occupy. The mountain will tower above the sea, as it towered primevally, although the valley below, once a noisome swamp, be elevated, purified, and enriched, by the alluvial stream; and human distinctions, of God's, and not man's, creating, will point upwards to their native heaven not less than the social region, which they at once adorn and bless, has risen around them in all the elevation, and all the sunshine, and all the verdure of prosperity, of virtue, and of peace.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

HINTS ON THE NECESSITY OF A CHANGE OF PRINCIPLE IN OUR LEGISLATION, FOR THE EFFICIENT PROTECTION OF SOCIETY FROM CRIME.*

ON the 26th of February last (1833), Mr Hume presented a petition from nearly 6000 persons in the Metropolis to the House of Commons for a revision of our criminal laws ; which he concurred with the petitioners in considering unenlightened, cruel, and self-defeating. Mr Pease vindicated his title to represent the benevolent society to which he belongs, by cordially supporting the petition. The Solicitor-General declared himself friendly to the mitigation of our criminal code, and could sanction the taking of life in those crimes only, where the individual injured would be entitled, preventively, to kill the criminal. Mr Lennard thought that no crime should be punished with death which was committed against property, without violence. Mr G. Lamb said, that a gentleman had gone to the United States of America to investigate the secondary punishments of that country, and trusted that an improved system of secondary punishment would soon be adopted in our own. The Attorney-General would yield to no man in the wish that punishment should be as lenient as is consistent with the safety of person and property ; and was of opi-

* This paper appeared in the Edinburgh Law Journal, No. VIII. The Author has been permitted by the proprietors of that work to republish it with some additions.

nion that farther mitigation might be safely, if cautiously, introduced. In this conversation, every speaker proposed MITIGATION, which was welcomed with loud and general cheering.

This, then, is the moment for the friends, at once, of mercy and efficient protection, to throw any lights they may have into the common stock of illumination which this vital but difficult legislation requires.

There are some departments of human affairs, in which knowledge seems doomed to hold an inverse ratio to discussion. Books, and tracts, and treatises, and leading paragraphs, and parliamentary reports, all without number, come forth upon the intractable subjects, which, because they advance not, come to be characterised by the epithet "eternal." An example of one of these is Education, and of another Criminal Legislation. When this can be truly said, we may rest assured that there is an element wanting in the investigations, without which sound conclusions cannot be arrived at ; and that is, a true philosophy of man and his relations to the creation in which he is placed. We have the evidence of notoriety and Professor Dugald Stewart, that this is yet a desideratum in moral science.* Nothing is more generally admitted and deplored, than that the whole legislation for crime, sanative and protective, has hitherto been naught. All the medicines have been inert and inoperative. That natural but unenlightened resort of the resentment which is roused by the bold selfishness and mercilessness of crime—the active remedy of pain inflicted has failed : terror has been long exhibited, and its ingredients strengthened in vain ; for the most aggravated forms of that moral disease, a disposition to crime, are just those which most certainly resist its operation.

* The Professor quotes and concurs in the opinion of M. De Bonald, who says, " Diversity of doctrine has increased, from age to age, with the number of masters and the progress of knowledge ; and Europe, which at present possesses libraries filled with philosophical works, and which reckons up almost as many philosophers as writers, poor in the midst of so much riches, and uncertain, with the aid of all its guides, *which road it should follow*, EUROPE, THE CENTRE AND FOCUS OF ALL THE LIGHTS IN THE WORLD, HAS YET ITS PHILOSOPHY ONLY IN EXPECTATION."

Our Criminal Courts sit for a number of successive, laborious days, and clear their calendar by allotting to each delinquent a portion of *suffering*, by which the blind feeling of retribution is satisfied ; and one would think a most conclusive *reason* shewn to all whom it may concern, that it is a very hazardous thing to commit crimes. Nevertheless, in two months there is a fresh jail-delivery, with some ten or twenty cases more than the forty or fifty just punished ;* and, in spite of all the appliances to prevent and deter from crime, the year's account balances at least as it did the year before, and often still more unfavourably. It appears very extraordinary—to the reflecting and the virtuous—that human beings should see before them disgrace, confinement, the tread-wheel, the scourge, the hulks, the antipodes, the gibbet, and practically feel these to be motives to abstain from crime, of inferior force to their own impulses to commit it. But so it actually is. These visitations, falling as they do every hour upon the devoted heads of human beings, produce no effect on others who have the same tendencies to crime ; yet the machinery is maintained at an enormous cost, and, while humanity is afflicted by the unceasing spectacle of fruitless affliction, society remains permanently exposed to depredation and violence. Such a system is analogous to what surgical practice would be, were it always cutting, and amputating and torturing, without curing, and in the knowledge, too, that these means do not, and will not, cure. The practical conclusion from what has just been said is obvious,—because the failure is total, because the disease is unabated, **THE WHOLE TREATMENT IS IN PRINCIPLE ERRONEOUS, AND MUST BE RADICALLY ALTERED.**

Legislation, in all matters physical, seeks to be guided by the best scientific lights accessible. A committee on a railroad, a

* This was the very recent experience of both Edinburgh and Glasgow ; and that valuable document, the Eighth Report of the London Prison Discipline Society, demonstrates that the same increase of crime is uniform all over the United Kingdom. By the Report of the recent Select Committee of the House of Commons, it appears, that crimes have increased as 24 to 10, that is, more than doubled, in the last fourteen years.

tunnel, or a canal, summons persons, and these the best mechanical philosophers, practical mechanics and engineers the country can produce, and proceeds under the guidance of their science and experience. We have not, however, heard of an examination of philosophers of mind and man, in a measure which is to have the most important social effects. We have seen no professor of moral philosophy before a committee, throwing upon the measure the light of his lucubrations on the nature of the human mind, and its springs of action. Nor should we wonder at this, when Europe has the arrival of its philosophy of mind only in expectation,—too late for the sittings “up stairs,” and out of all time for the report. Legislation on moral affairs is, therefore, necessarily unguided by principle. It is held to be practical, and to be impeded by theories; it comes hot and confident from individual impressions, feelings, and instincts,—from the set of notions, however taken up, which serves each individual as a system of principles, “and which,” says an eminent writer, “although he “may not have methodised them, or even acknowledged them to “himself as a theory, yet constitute to him a standard by which “he practically judges of all questions of morals, politics, and religion, and dogmatizes with all the pertinacity of the most obstinate theorist on earth.” By such men severity alone is dreamed of as the medicine for criminals,—and if it fails, then greater severity, till what is called the vengeance of the law is solaced, and terror *believed* triumphant.* The utter blindness of this course of legislation, a little attention—which is rarely or never bestowed—to the nature of the material it works upon, as well as the engine it works with, will sufficiently expose.

The material to be worked upon is the WILL OF MAN.† In

* Measures are at this moment urged, from several quarters, on Parliament, for the *more severe* punishment of juvenile offenders; with what chance of favour, the account given of the reception of the London petition for mitigation, will enable the reader to judge.

† The Marquis of Beccaria (on Crimes and Punishments), who wrote much in advance of his own age, says, “No advantage in moral policy can be lasting which is not founded on the indelible sentiments of the heart of man. Whatever law deviates from that principle, will always meet with a resistance which will destroy it in the end.” Much of

relation to the impulses and tendencies of this will, minute and attentive observation has shewn, and the parables of the Talents and the Sower illustrate the observation, that human beings present three classes.* *First*, those whose animal appetites or propensities are so powerful as to overbalance the restraining force of their moral and intellectual faculties, and, like thorns, choke any good seed sown in them. Beings of this constitution of mind are under the dominion of strong lusts, violent passions, and intense selfishness. Their impressions of moral duty are so weak as to offer no restraint to the gratification of their selfishness, at any cost of property, limb, or life, to those, no matter how unoffending, who stand in their way ; while in most of them a limited intellect has obscure views of the real nature of things, confused perceptions of consequences, overweening confidence in their own power of concealment, evasion and escape, total blindness to the guilt of their actions, a fixed rejection in their own case of all idea of retribution,—on the contrary, a persuasion that all restraint imposed on themselves is the unwarrantable act of the strongest ; and, finally, the feeblest powers of controlling their passions, even when they do see the fatal consequences of yielding to their sway. Any better endowment of intellect in this class is always perverted to the purposes of crime ; hence expert plan-laying thieves, pickpockets, swindlers, and forgers.

The *second* class of mankind are very numerous, those whose *animalism* is nearly as strong as in the first class, but whose moral and intellectual powers of restraint are so much greater, as to bring the tendencies to indulgence and forbearance almost to a balance. External circumstances in such persons turn the scale. In low life, uneducated, neglected, and destitute, they have often become criminals ; in a more favourable condition of education and society, they have continued respectable ; but, within the in-

the modern improvement of criminal legislation has been influenced by Beccaria's views. These are yet in advance of Europe, and even Britain. America is acting up to them more nearly.

* There are, of course, various degrees in each class ; but the tripartite division will serve all practical purposes.

fluence of bad example, they will be found sensual and often profligate, and they are always selfish and self-indulging. In them is the scriptural want of earth to preserve the plant, which springs up, from the withering action of the sun.

The *third* class are the good ground, that produces in different degrees, but all plentifully. They are those who, the Apostle says, are "a law unto themselves." In them the animal propensities are sufficient for their legitimate ends, but the decided predominance of intellect and moral feeling, as faculties of their minds, renders it nearly a moral impossibility, that the inferior tendencies should ever master them so far as to impel them to commit crime. It is *physically* possible for such men to rob, or steal, or torture, or murder, but it is *morally* impossible; and they would attempt any physical difficulty in preference. They enjoy strong moral and intellectual perceptions. Their passions, sometimes vigorous, are reined by their higher feelings; they feel the law written in their heart with the Same finger that graved it on tables of stone; instead of all their aspirations and aims being selfish, they have time, and thought, and exertion, and money, to spare for their fellow creatures; and are made happy by the extension of the virtuous enjoyment of life throughout the world. They cannot exist in a grovelling atmosphere, and tend upwards into a purer moral medium, when by circumstances depressed into vicious contact. These, lastly, are the men who are sincerely, conscientiously, rationally, and practically religious, and whose morality is based in the Divine will and the precepts of Christianity. It is manifestly the Creator's design, that such men, from intellectual as well as moral power, shall rise to the guidance of society; and liberty, and light, and national happiness, are in the direct ratio of their ascendancy. An enlightened and effective criminal code will emanate from them alone.

One grand error in criminal legislation has been, that the three-fold distinction now drawn has never been taken into account as true in nature. There is no practical belief that it exists. We do not find it adverted to in any of the thousand and one treatises already written, and by the most talented of men, on criminal le-

gislation. Yet it may be predicted that, till it shall be acted upon as a practical truth, speculation after speculation, code after code, and institution after institution, for the protection of society from crime, will fall to the ground. The prevalent practical belief of the million, and of the law-makers in whom they confide, is, that in power to obey the laws there is among men no difference of mental constitution; that a good man has *willed* to be virtuous, and a bad man has *willed* to be vicious, and that either might have willed equally easily the opposite character. That it was a mere voluntary choice that, on the one hand, filled the prisons with wretches whom a Howard visited, and that determined Howard, on the other, to visit them. Hence the indignation and resentment felt against the criminal, and the tendency to visit upon him the retribution considered due to a deliberate choice of the wrong, in spite of a clear perception and feeling of the right. Now, the truth will challenge the strictest investigation, that the great majority of criminals in this country have minds so constituted, and that, independently of their own volition, as to rank them in the *first* class above described. They are born with a greatly preponderating animalism, which grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength. Belonging to the lower, and often the lowest, ranks of life, having neither moral nor religious training and exercise, little or no intellectual education, no habit or practice of industry, frugality, sobriety, or self-denial; strangers to all encouragement, from a higher moral society, to value character; on the contrary, familiar from infancy with the example of debauchery, profligacy, and recklessness, and crime in their very parents and relations, trained often to early mendicity, and always to thieving, habituated to hear debauchery and successful villany lauded in the society with which they mix, and morality and justice ridiculed or defied, they may be said to be indeed born in iniquity, and bred in crime. Such are the beings whose acts create resentment and retributive revenge in the minds of the unreflecting, the untempted, and, in regard to a sound philosophy of man, the uninformed. Even the enlightened Archbishop Whately, in his lately published "Thoughts on

Secondary Punishments," comments with severity upon what he calls "a false tenderness to delinquents," which is gaining ground. I am inclined to look upon this tenderness, which is abolishing severe punishments, as a proof of the soundness of the views now humbly proposed, and that a higher morality is speaking out, as matter of mere feeling, that punishments are as inefficacious as cruel. Yet PUNISHMENT is the grand object of criminal legislation. The Archbishop is busy with substitute punishments for the "capital practice," now on the wane — his work is on punishments, secondary though they be. His idea of punishment is exclusively as to its effect in the way of example. This, he says, is the avowed theory of punishment distinctly recognised in our legal enactments. "But," he adds, "in particular cases there are notions and practices inconsistent with a doctrine so evident, which are by no means uncommon. Irrelevant considerations—irrelevant, I mean, on the supposition, whose truth almost every one admits, that man has no right to think of inflicting vengeance,—are perpetually allowed to influence our judgment." The criminal, he says, follows an *example of crime*,—substitute for this an *example of terror*. Legislators have unfortunately hitherto acted on this principle; instead of directing all their powers to the preventive training, and, if necessary, the restraint of the predisposed to crime, they have been misled by the belief that it is not only possible, but a matter of course, that punishment, rendered severe and certain, will operate on the criminally disposed as a motive of greater power than the impetuous impulse of his own passions, and secure his refraining from crime.

Now, the melancholy truth is, that this conclusion with regard to the *first* class of human beings above distinguished, is utterly and demonstrably false; and the monstrous error which has held, and still holds it to be sound, is the main cause of the failure of all existing criminal codes, and of "the steady increase of crime with the increase of wealth and population." It is admitted that the lawmakers are right, when they hold that the fear of punishment has a powerful operation, as a motive, on men whose moral

balance is even, and trembles between offending and abstaining. We hear this often and much insisted upon, as a very important effect of the example of punishment ; and we recognise the men alluded to as the *second* class of human beings. But it will afterwards be shewn that a much milder and more judicious treatment of real criminals,—men of the *first* class,—will furnish sufficient example to the second, or class of waverers. It is more important to establish the fact that, on the first class, or those whose preponderating tendency is to crime,—whose intellect is the barren way side, and whose moral constitution is a wilderness of thorns,—the example of punishment has little or no effect at all ; and this is one reason why crimes do not diminish either in number or aggravation. It is a fundamental error, which not only prevails in ordinary life, but is at the root of all the discrepancies and contrarieties of metaphysical systems, that every one conceives his own mind a type of the species, and believes that all other men feel, and think, and are moved just as he is. The law-maker's mind being probably—at least it ought to be—of the *third* class, *he* feels that public disgrace and punishment would operate as most effectual motives to deter *him* from crime, were he, by any possibility, in danger of falling into it ; and he never doubts that to *all* minds they must present the same effectual warning. But the minds of men of the first class are constituted quite differently. They are impelled by much stronger animal propensities,—the abuses of which are essentially vice and crime,—and they have much weaker restraining powers, moral and intellectual.* To men with such minds the state of society holds out constant temptations ; the circle they move in laughs at threats and punishments ; their intellects are confused, as well as their passions aggravated, by the constant use in most of them of intoxicating liquors ; they see no consequences till they fall upon them, have no anticipations of punishment, and never doubt their own unvarying good fortune, and powers of evasion and con-

* The author has been assured by an intelligent gentleman who has repeatedly sailed to New South Wales in charge of convicts, that, with few exceptions, they have *narrow intellects*.

cealment. With all this, should we wonder that they so seldom connect the idea of punishment with their actions, and that they proceed in the course of their evil practices, without ever dreaming of applying the punishments of even their accomplices in crime as examples to themselves.* When the last sentence of the law overtakes them, clergymen who have attended them have declared, that one of the chief difficulties was to give them the idea of guilt, or bring them to connect the punishment they were about to suffer with their crime. The late Dr Andrew Thomson gave this account of the state of mind of Mary M'Innes, the keeper of a house of ill fame in Edinburgh, who, in a fit of fury, murdered a young man in her house. Dr Thomson found her incapable of connecting her crime with her punishment. She looked upon the latter as merely a violent death before her time, and a great calamity, but never as a retribution. Hence we may conceive her utter incapacity to *anticipate* punishment as the result of any act of her's, when it was neither near nor dreaded. Criminals under sentence of death sometimes write their own histories, and those who do, generally become autobiographers from the vanity of displaying their skill and power as criminals. This was remarkably exemplified in the case of David Haggart, executed for murder at Edinburgh some years ago. The incapacity to see clearly the guilt of an action, necessarily precludes that anticipation of punishment which is essential to the operation of example. Dr Adam Smith, in his "Theory of Moral State-ments," states it as matter of daily observation, that it is of the very nature of a weak conscience to furnish feeble perceptions of guilt, and no remorse for crime. Remorse is the reaction of the moral faculties, which in criminals act too feebly to produce that feeling.

Now, minds so constituted ought not to be judged of in the same manner as those of a more moral and intellectual constitution. Justice demands a large allowance for their unfortunate

* The Rev. Mr Roberts of Bristol states that he conversed with 167 convicts under sentence of death, and found that 164 of them had witnessed executions.

constitution, and not less unhappy circumstances ; and, above all, observing that punishment, however severe, does NOT operate upon them as example, it would consider whether there are not means, at once more just and more effectual, of protecting society from the acts of these its dangerous and reckless members.

Let us first look at the present treatment of a criminal. Suppose him young ; nothing is done for him by the country he lives in, and its first *notice* of him is to punish him. His offence is perhaps slight, and by what the Archbishop of Dublin well considers a gross error, arising from the practice, although disavowed in principle, that a criminal is punished in proportion to his moral guilt alone, he is sent for a *short time* to a house of correction. He is set to hard and degrading work, receives stinted food, experiences from the keepers nothing but hard words, commands, threats, and, in some places, stripes, as his communication with them ; while he is subjected to the contaminating fellowship of other criminals, at work, at meals, and sometimes even in his sleeping cell. “ He was sent to be *punished*,” is the answer to the question, “ Was any thing done to reform him, to instruct him, or to reconcile him to honest society ?” He was sent for a short period, because it was “ his first offence,” and there was, of course, no time to operate morally upon him ; he, therefore, leaves the house of correction as bad as he entered it, at least, and, if he has associated with older criminals, worse. A short confinement renders his return to the house, unless he quits the place, next to certain. In a statement made by the Governor of Bridewell in Glasgow, there is a table shewing the per-centage of offenders that returned for new offences, and it is in a diminishing series, as it is related to confinement for one month gradually up to two years. The greatest proportion returned who had had one month’s confinement, and none were seen again who had suffered confinement for two years.

On his second sentence, our supposed offender is doomed to a longer confinement, and is again set on the tread-wheel, where he works in company, and in a state of most resentful irritation, because of the severity and degradation of the labour. His mu-

tinies have been visited by stripes. He leaves the house more hardened than ever, and more resolved to wreak *his* vengeance on society, and gratify passions only whetted by his forced abstinence. But he has been *punished* a second time. After a third or fourth confinement, he is ripened for more daring acts than small thefts ; he takes a part in an extensive act of plunder, and is sentenced to transportation. As an intermediate part of his punishment, he is sent to Woolwich to labour in the Hulks. If he was far gone in depravity before, it is notorious that the unavoidable free intercourse, both during labour and relaxation, which is permitted in that ill-judged mode of punishment, renders him much worse. In the farther course of his *reformation*, he proceeds " to make out his time" in New South Wales, where the spirit of crime has reached such perfection, that it has become a common saying that the most practised London criminal finds himself a learner in the accomplished community of Botany Bay. The only alternative at home, and which attaches to crimes which have more deeply affected property, or sacrificed limb or life, is death on the gibbet.

Such is the provision made, in mockery, as it were, by the criminal legislation of our own country, for the reformation of offenders. The utter inefficacy of the whole system of mere punishment, as example, to the class of our unfortunate countrymen who act fearlessly, recklessly, and unthinkingly, in obedience to their criminal predisposition, is too well known in fact ; I trust it has been shewn to be demonstrable on principle.

It is not of this place to examine into the merits of the hulks, transportation, and execution, as punishments. We might assume them as all of the character of adequate suffering, and as quite satisfactory to the retributive principle of criminal legislation. I refer to Archbishop Whately's work on Secondary Punishments, for an exposure of the two first mentioned secondary inflictions, in all their costliness, moral and political mischief, and utter inefficiency even as objects of terror. Criminals, according to a recent report of a Committee of the House of Commons already alluded to, have more than doubled in number in

fourteen years, without any thing, as the report observes, in the political or commercial state of the country to account for such a change. It is to be hoped from the evidence which has already been published, that the hulks and Botany Bay are already condemned. It is impossible they can survive the present investigation. The hulks present a strange inconsistency ; they are meant to be severe, but their system is careless and indulgent, and is neither punishment nor reformation. They are a bounty on crime. There is nothing severe in the labour, or such as deserves the name of punishment. It is less severe than that of all voluntary day labourers. Mr Stephens, in his work on Negro Slavery, estimates the convict's labour in the hulks at one-half of that of the Negro slave, and his food at double, both in quantity and nutriment. The convict is well clothed and fed, and enjoys what some of the convicts themselves, when examined, termed " a pretty jolly life ;" and which the superintendants declared was the envy of the free labourers in the dock-yard, who work longer hours, and at harder work, for a less substantial remuneration. At the same time, the free intercourse of the convicts renders the hulks a perfect sink of moral contamination. The Archbishop objects to the hulks as too slight a punishment ; I object to them because they are irrationally mild, and utterly absurd in regard to either example or reformation.

The transported felon has a four or five months' passage of perfect idleness and profligate conversation, in the freest intercourse with generally above 200 fellow criminals ; the effects of this, in eradicating any possible remnant of good feeling from his mind, need not be dwelt upon. When landed, the worst that befalls him is a mild domestic slavery, by being appointed a labouring servant to some settler, with many ways, by tickets of leave as they are called, and proper management, of shortening and much lightening his bondage. He writes to his friends at home " to use *some means* to get sent out," to join him in his life of ease and plenty.

Convicts are almost never reformed under the present system. I humbly think the reason is manifest. We should as soon ex-

pect corn to grow and ripen without culture, and without the positive operation of the sun, air, and rain. "Whatever is the cause," says Mr Wakefield, on the Punishment of Death, "the fact is certain, that a thief is hardly ever—I am tempted to say never—reformed."

Mr Chesterton, the Governor of Coldbathfield's prison, in his evidence before the Committee (513-517), goes farther, and expresses his conviction that the London thieves are irreclaimable from their vicious habits, and that no punishment which can be devised will *deter* them from the commission of crime. The London thieves can have no natural specific difference from other thieves; and the irreclaimability amounts to this, that no adequate means have yet been used to reclaim either them or any other thieves. In the colony, the Archbishop says, even the convicts who have served their time, or been pardoned, and moreover acquired property, are unreclaimed. "Intoxication and frauds are habitual to them, and hardly six persons can be named throughout the colony who, being educated men, have afterwards become sober, moral, and industrious members of society."

The Archbishop's observations upon the enormous political evil of deliberately planting "a nation of criminals," are well worthy of being pondered deeply: and he takes all his proofs from Parliamentary evidence and documents. The felons tend to be, if they are not already, the nation. Its towns are filled with the most worthless and depraved men. Lord Bacon long ago remarked, that "it is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked and condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant." The laws of hereditary descent, which perpetuate the character of the first settlers, are entirely lost sight of in such miserable legislation. The practical belief is, that the descendants of the felons may "be good" if they please. Experience, however, shews the notion to be as childish as its mode of expression. The state is well denominated by the Archbishop "a commonwealth of thieves." The executions in the year are one to 900, while in England and Wales they are one to 280,000. Crime is constant and systematic; the police of

Sydney costs L. 20,000 per annum; and, what is not generally known to the British public, the original settlement is itself assuming the honours of a mother country, and planting volunteer colonies in the South Sea Islands, to which the convicts escape in small craft, and, in imitation of the Roman freebooters with their Sabine neighbours, offer a great bounty for kidnapped females from the mother colony, as that article is rare in their infant establishments. The staple is seal oil.

Although what has now been said about our existing secondary punishments may, in some degree, be a digression, it subserves our main purpose, in exposing the lamentable blindness, inefficiency, and mischievousness, of our whole criminal economy.

In suggesting a better system, it is necessary to propose an entire change of plan. I beseech the reader in the outset to bear in mind, that the plan hitherto pursued, modified and remodified a hundred times, has been attended with one uniform result only, and that has been FAILURE. Let us now inquire what the change ought to be.

First of all, then, I would humbly propose to dismiss RETRIBUTIVE VENGEANCE for ever from our legislation in crimes, and, what alone will secure this result, *from our own feelings*, towards criminals. Difficult, I acknowledge, will be this apparent inversion of our moral sentiments; but as I hold it to be only a just, and, therefore, natural direction of them, I feel assured, and indeed have actually seen, that it will soon recommend itself to the reflecting. There is an approach to this in the reprobation with which we treat the element of revenge, when it betrays itself in keenness, or violence, or vindictiveness, in a judge, in his directions to a jury in a criminal case, however aggravated that case may be; and we feel more respect for him when he treats the wretched prisoner, even when convicted, as unfortunate as well as criminal. Indeed, good feeling has established this as the current term, both at the bar and on the bench, for characterizing the prisoner's condition. Now this is not merely civil, it is just. When we consider the original constitution and actual circumstances of criminals, as already described, we cannot in justice

avoid looking upon them as unfortunate, as patients more than criminals, and longing to see them as patients put "under treatment." This treatment ought to have two great aims: *first*, to protect society from its dangerous members who are criminally diseased or disposed; and, *secondly*, to amend the criminals themselves by an enlightened system of reformation. I humbly think that both ends may be gained, with a much smaller degree of suffering than is called for on the retributive principle, BY A JUDICIOUS SYSTEM OF REFORMATORY SECLUSION OF ALL CONVICTED CRIMINALS, WHATEVER MAY HAVE BEEN THEIR CRIMES.

I do not pretend to originality in the advocacy of penitentiary treatment. I am anticipated by Bentham, the father of the system, by Archbishop Whately, and the legislators of the United States, in proposing its substitution for all secondary punishment, they reserving death for such crimes as murder and fire-raising. Bentham reserves capital punishment, though very unwillingly, for atrocious murder: while the London Prison Discipline Society have the distinction of taking the lead in recommending the secondary treatment of the penitentiary for all crimes whatever, murder not excepted. But I do claim some views of penitentiary treatment itself, which more closely consult human nature than any which I have met with; and, therefore, it is humbly hoped, free from errors in principle, which have occasioned the failure of the penitentiary system in various ways, when it promised most fairly.* From some errors, it is thought with much deference the Prison Discipline Society's plan itself is not free. With the solitary exception of that proposed by Mr Livingstone, Secretary of State at Washington, to be presently noticed, all the penitentiary plans have a machinery for the *direct* infliction, in lesser or greater degrees, of suffering, called punishment, continued through the whole course of the period of detention. They all include *compulsory* labour, which is labour enforced by yet severer pain as the consequence of refusal, in the form of stricter confinement, privation of food, and, as is true of the boasted Auburn of America itself, stripes with a cow-skin whip

* Millbank itself has disappointed expectation.

at the discretion of an under-keeper, and even flogging with a cat of cords under the eye of the governor. I hope to shew that, with all or any of these penal courses, the convict's amendment is morally incompatible.

The last Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on secondary punishments, "recommends that, in all cases that have *hitherto* been punished with imprisonment, with or without hard labour,* the prisoners be in future confined in light solitary cells, except when at *hard labour*; that in proceeding to or returning from exercise, they be marched in single files, and strict care taken to prevent even a whisper passing from one prisoner to another; that to prevent conversation while at exercise, *the wheel* be divided into compartments, with partitions, to contain one person in each, and that no more prisoners be taken out for exercise at a time than may be sufficient to fill the wheel; that no prisoner be allowed to receive visits from his friends, or to hold any communication with them even by letter, except in special cases, and with the permission of the visiting Magistrates; that, when shut up in the cells, the strictest silence be enforced, and for that purpose a *turnkey* be constantly perambulating the galleries of the prison; further, that every cell be furnished with books of a moral and religious character, and such employment provided for the prisoners when not at hard labour, as may tend to encourage habits of industry, and repay a portion of the expense incurred in their maintenance."

This plan is a copy of that of the prison of Auburn, in the state of New York; only the labour in the latter is more intelligent and useful than the wretched, degrading, and absurd labour of the tread-wheel, which prevails in almost every House of Correction in England. It is thought, with deference, that the views of the Committee of the House of Commons, although an immense advance upon those of our ancestors, are yet but partially guided by philosophical principles: but every one must hail the spirit

* The Committee propose to have a variety of secondary punishments, retaining, but *improving*, the unimproveable one of transportation. This *variety* is admirably exposed in all its self-defeating effects by the Archbishop.

which actuates the Legislature, and expect from it the very best results as their lights increase.

In their Eighth Report, the Committee of the Prison Discipline Society say :—“The Committee have given to this subject (a substitute for transportation and the hulks, which two last they consider as having utterly failed) their best consideration, and have no hesitation in declaring their conviction that an effectual substitute may be found for the penalty of death in a well regulated system of penitentiary discipline : *a system which shall inspire dread, not by intensity of punishment, but by unremitted occupation, seclusion, and restraint.* The enforcement of hard labour, strict silence, and a judicious plan of solitary confinement, will be found the most powerful of all moral instruments for the correction of the guilty ; and when to these are added the application of religious instruction, the utmost means are exercised which society can employ for the punishment and reformation of the human character. This discipline admits of a great variety of combination, and is therefore adapted to the treatment of offenders of different classes of criminality. For successful examples of this nature, the Committee refer to some of our best houses of correction, and especially to the Penitentiary at Millbank. It is, however, from the United States that the most extensive experience on this subject is to be derived ; where a system has been adopted which combines solitary confinement at night, hard labour by day, the strict observance of silence, and attention to moral and religious improvement. These plans are enforced with great success at the prisons of Auburn and Sing-Sing, in the state of New York, and at Weathersfield, in the state of Connecticut. At sun-rise, the convicts proceed in regular order to the several work-shops, where they remain under vigilant superintendence until the hour of breakfast, when they repair to the common hall. When at their meals, the prisoners are seated at tables in single rows, with their backs towards the centre, so that there can be no interchange of signs. From one end of the work-rooms to the other, upwards of 500 convicts may be seen without a single individual being observed to turn his head towards a visitor. Not

a whisper is heard throughout the apartments. At the close of day, labour is suspended, and the prisoners return in military order to their solitary cells ; there they have the opportunity of reading the Scriptures, and of reflecting in silence on their past lives. The chaplain occasionally visits the cells, instructing the ignorant, and administering the reproofs and consolations of religion. The influence of these visits is described to be most beneficial ; and the effect of the entire discipline is decidedly successful in the prevention of crime, both by the dread which the imprisonment inspires, as well as by the reformation of the offender. Inquiries have been instituted relative to the conduct of prisoners released from the Auburn penitentiary—the prison in which this system has been longest observed—and of 206 discharged, who have been watched over for the space of three years, 146 have been reclaimed and maintained reputable characters in society.

Another system of penitentiary discipline practised in the United States is of a more formidable character, the severity of which has excited considerable opposition. It is enforced at Philadelphia and Pittsburg, in the state of Pennsylvania. The main feature by which it is distinguished from the government at Auburn consists in the enforcement of solitary confinement *by day* as well as by night. It was originally intended that this perpetual solitude should be inflicted at the Philadelphia prison without any relief arising from manual labour, but the Commissioners appointed to revise the penal laws of Pennsylvania were adverse to the experiment. This system has now been in operation for the last eighteen months, and it must be allowed that although the plan is in some respects objectionable, the serious apprehensions to which it has given rise have not been realized. Both these prisons were lately visited by a member of this society, who paid particular attention to the effect which continued solitude had produced upon the health of the prisoners. ‘ I attempted,’ he writes, ‘ to detect any latent evils belonging to the system, and was for this purpose allowed to repair to the cells alone ; I did so frequently, and was at length satisfied that the prisoners had sustained no injury from the seclusion. Each prisoner is employed

in some branch of trade, and is required to execute a given quantity of work ; if he disobeys, he is kept on low diet, no corporal punishment being allowed. There is, however, but little necessity for resorting to punishment ; for, rather than remain in idleness, the prisoners prefer employment for its own sake, as well as for the intercourse which it occasions with the prison-officers. Labour is here prescribed as an alleviation of punishment, and not superadded to aggravate it.' Satisfactory as this may be to a certain extent, it is notwithstanding extremely difficult, at a distance so remote, and with conflicting evidence, to form a correct judgment upon the safety and expediency of continued solitude, even when mitigated by employment ; and after having maturely weighed the statements adduced by the advocates of the respective systems, the Committee adhere to the opinion expressed in their former Report, that solitary confinement *by day* as well as by night, however suitable for short periods and as a temporary punishment for gaol-offences, would not be justifiable as an ordinary system of prison discipline. It appears that before the adoption of the present system at Auburn, an experiment was tried at that prison of the effect of perpetual solitude upon eighty prisoners, during a period of ten months. The result was decidedly unfavourable to the adoption of the plan, and it was accordingly abandoned. The punishment was found in many cases to injure the health, to impair the reason, to endanger life, to leave the prisoner enfeebled and unable to work on quitting confinement, and as ignorant of any useful occupation as when he entered it. Reformation did not follow, and consequently commitments were more frequent. This testimony is corroborated by the opinions of the governors of several of the best regulated prison in England, whom the Committee have consulted on this important subject. They unite in stating their conviction that solitary confinement is a punishment to be used with extreme caution ; that the health of every individual must be regularly watched ; that serious effects would have resulted from its adoption in their own experience, had they not been prevented by the timely removal of the prisoner into society, and that it

would not be wise to render general a discipline, the administration of which requires unceasing vigilance, and the abuse of which may be so fatal to the mind as well as health of the prisoner. Much of the benefit ascribed to solitary confinement may be derived from allowing the prisoners to labour in classes agreeably to the course pursued at Auburn, but restricting them to the most rigid observance of silence. Great importance is justly attached in these penitentiaries to the effect of religious impressions in a state of solitude; and, doubtless, the arrangements for imparting such have been carefully made."

I have quoted largely from this report, because it contains a concise view of the American practice, in addition to what itself proposes. There is, however, an omission in the report, inasmuch as no allusion is made to the corporal punishment of Auburn, by which the discipline of the establishment, and also the convict's labour, are enforced. Mr Stuart, a late traveller in the United States, when visiting Auburn, made minute inquiry into the whole system of the penitentiary, and states pointedly that, for infraction of duty, stripes are inflicted by the keeper, or *assistant keeper*, with a raw hide whip; and that in aggravated cases, the convict may be flogged by *the keeper* or *deputy*, with a cat of six strands of small twine applied to the naked back. He adds, that so certain is conviction and so speedy punishment, that an instance does not occur above once in three months.

The Archbishop of Dublin, in his Letter to Earl Grey on Secondary Punishments, with its appendices, advocates severity in penitentiaries, for example's sake; and the character of secondary punishment, on which he lays most stress, is that it shall be "formidable." He is unanswerable in his exposure of the absurdity and mischief of the prevailing secondary punishments; but is by no means so trust-worthy a guide in his own plans of substitution. He is no doubt a convert to the universal application of penitentiary discipline as secondary punishment; but his reprobation of "tenderness" to the convict, amounts almost to unwillingness that the feeling of punishment should ever quit the latter's consciousness, or that he should have a tale to tell to others

in which there should mingle one grain of comfort or happiness. It is no answer to the Archbishop that, under such a system, reformation is not to be expected; for he considers reformation, as we shall presently see, a very secondary consideration in the treatment of criminals. He, of course, proposes compulsory labour, and suggests an original and plausible modification of it, namely, that a convict's sentence should be measured, not by time, but by work, a certain extent or amount of labour (a fair portion being enforced daily) being assigned him, so that he may have a motive to assiduity in order to shorten his confinement, while the assiduity will give him habits of industry, which will avail him after his discharge. I fear that such labour, however assiduously and speedily accomplished, being yet essentially penal and compulsory, and unaccompanied by any thing which bears the semblance, philosophically, of moral or intellectual exercise, of higher motives and more permanent social attainments, will be performed with a view to liberation only,—in other words, from a hatred of labour and an appetite for criminal indulgence, the only idea the convict is apt to connect with liberty.

Mr Secretary Livingstone of Washington shoots a-head of the Archbishop of Dublin very decidedly, and arrives at a position much nearer that which is recognised by a sound philosophy of man. He has astounded his countrymen by the novel, but eminently philosophical, proposition of *voluntary* labour in penitentiaries, and the negation of all *direct and positive* infliction of pain or suffering, at the hands of the superintendents. The scheme is as ingenious as it is benevolent, and as, from Mr Livingstone's high character and influence, there cannot be a doubt that this plan will be extensively tried in the United States, I shall now describe it in as few words as possible.

Mr Livingstone's penitentiary is so constructed that each convict has a cell, with an adjoining small court, to himself. The cell is small but light, and well aired and warmed: and here the newly introduced convict is shut up, coarse fare is supplied him, and he is *rigidly denied* all occupation whatever. This grievous state of negation, in which the faculties stagnate whose activity

is essential to human happiness, in a very short time becomes intolerable to him; and as soon as *he* requests it, but not sooner, something to do is given him. There is work for him in the court adjoining his cell, though still in solitude. The kind of work is suited to his qualifications or previous habits. From the time he commences work, he finds a slight improvement in his diet, and a greater as he becomes more industrious. If he is idle, or in any way abuses the *privilege* of labour, he forfeits his claim to it; it is taken from him, and he returns to close confinement and coarse fare in his cell. In the trials already made—for the plan has been tried, I believe, in Louisiana—there is scarcely an instance of this retrogression; or, if there have been any, the re-confinement is brief, as work and better fare are both soon again desired. When, by steady industry, for six or twelve months, which has been lightened by frequent visits from officers of the establishment and religious teachers, who instruct, converse with, and encourage the solitary labourer, he is considered trust-worthy, a great improvement takes place in his condition. He is permitted to work and take his meals in the society of some others, in his own stage of improvement, the number not to exceed ten, who at night return to their solitary cells. When together, their intercourse and demeanour are of course narrowly watched, by a judicious person, who at the same time gives them instruction, and even amusement; while the least attempt at mutual corruption, the first symptom of abusing the indulgence, is followed by its cessation, and the convict finds himself back a stage, not yet in his solitary cell again, with coarse fare and without employment, but at the stage of solitary labour from which he has shewn that he was not yet fit to be advanced. This inferior privilege he may, if he chuses, also lose, and retrograde to his first condition, as when he entered the establishment. From this he may emerge again whenever he pleases; every step is his own taking.

His promotion to the social state unabused has other advantages besides his improved diet,—which is better than the fare of his solitary labour, itself better than the fare of his idleness: he will be allowed, if he can, to work at more profitable employments,

and receive his gain in the form of tools, books, or whatever he pleases, meat and drink, to prevent abuse, excepted ; or have the surplus added to the stock which is laid up for his discharge. His hopes of ultimate liberty are encouraged, with judgment ; but the impression is never allowed to be weakened that this final consummation depends upon himself alone, and that partiality, or favour, or allowance, or indulgence, are all utterly out of the question.

Here, then, is a system which abstains from enraging or debasing the convict by direct infliction of pain or suffering. He may punish himself if he pleases, by returning to solitude and coarse fare ; and he may promote himself to considerable comfort and enjoyment. This last privilege is as important as new in penitentiary discipline ; and, attained, in the manner Mr Livingstone proposes, it seems that the greatest protester against rendering culprits comfortable can scarcely object to it.

I would adopt Mr Livingstone's excellent plan, so far as it goes ; but I am inclined to build a little higher than his symmetrical structure, or, shall I rather say, found a little deeper.

A penitentiary or reformatory asylum, according to my humble view of it, must, to be perfect, fulfil five requisites :

1st, It must protect society from the individual convict, by a mechanical seclusion and detention of his person, so complete that the idea of escape may never occupy and distract his thoughts.

2d, It must provide for the reformation of the convict, during his detention, to the utmost attainable extent, on sound practical principles.

3d, It must restore the convict to society when, but not till, he is so far reformed as to be trusted with his liberty.

4th, Its detention and seclusion of the convict must be such as to operate in the way of example, to deter from crime all others upon whose *will* example will operate.

5th, Lastly, It must fulfil all these requisites with little, or, if possible, no expense to the public.

First, I need not here enter into the first requisite, that of the mere mechanical means of effectual confinement. That is the

responsibility of architects and engineers. Mr Livingstone's regime, which I would adopt, will of course require a great number of separate cells and attached solitary working courts. This is mechanically practicable. Auburn has one thousand cells in each wing. The accommodations for Mr Livingstone's promotion are not less obvious. Provision should be made for a careful separation of males from females, and young from adults. The locality should be high, dry, and healthy, and the water good. The principles of the system would direct the architect, and it is these principles we are at present concerned in establishing.

Secondly, The convict's reformation. The Archbishop, as was formerly hinted, holds this consideration to be of secondary importance in penitentiary discipline. Example to others he holds the chief end of all punishment, which ought, therefore, according to him, to be formidable. Reformation may be attempted, but it does not, in his view, belong essentially to a "*penal system*." I think, with deference, that this is a great error. His system is unnecessarily penal, and therefore reformation cannot coexist with it. Formidable punishment and reformation cannot be united, and it shall presently be shewn why; and also that the opinion of the impracticability of reforming criminals,—which has grown almost into a proverb, and seems much to influence Dr Whately,—is founded more on the *fact* of uniform failure, than on essential impracticability, if proper means were employed. The Archbishop says, that "all the efforts of rulers to make men good by law have utterly failed." But all the law hitherto applied has been to inflict pain upon men for being bad, unaccompanied with any rational attempt to make them good. The Archbishop argues that, by the reformation of criminals, you do not prevent crime in the rest of the community, inasmuch as criminals are not a specific, existing, separable class, like men with red hair or black skins, whose reformation would rid society of crime, by amending *all* the criminals. The reformation of certain individuals would be no better than the cure of certain individuals during the prevalence of a pestilence: it would not arrest the course of a disease among the rest of the community. To this it

is answered, that crime is not a contagious or epidemic pestilence, which tends to run through a whole people. Those decidedly predisposed to crime are much more of a class than Dr Whately supposes ; and they are a class nearly all of whom, at least in the lower ranks, come in contact with the law. Even under the wretched system now prevalent, their number, on an average of years, can be nearly ascertained ; and it will appear in the sequel that a proper penitentiary system is nearly certain of getting them all into its hands, when reformation will not only be a moral duty, but a direct riddance to society of criminals and crime.

It is, moreover, as a high moral duty that I have given Reformation so prominent a place among my five points or requisites ; I do not mean that of itself it is to do more than operate indirectly and partially as a diminution of crime ; but then it is not the sole appliance. As it is proposed to seclude criminals, and rid society of them for periods the shortest of which will be long, they have an irresistible claim upon us for education, intellectual and moral. To immure a criminal, and forget him—or to remember him only for the stated infliction of pain upon him, is utterly abhorrent to all just notions of moral obligation. Immured as he is, he is yet a morally and religiously accountable being. We have separated him from the society with whose safety his liberty is incompatible ; but we are bound, the more for that very reason, to attend to his intellectual, moral, and religious, as well as his physical wants. Just because we have forced him into an artificial mode of life, established by ourselves for our own safety, we are called upon to preserve his health of body, and to improve his mind,—intellectually, as far as he is capable, by useful knowledge and resource, and morally, by subduing and regulating his animal and vicious propensities, sensual, covetous, and violent, and exercising his moral faculties and social affections, some endowment of which, above the sad blank of idiocy, is the portion of every human being. We shall of course succeed in very different degrees, according as the balance stands between the superior and inferior feelings in each subject. The state of this balance will likewise regulate the duration of the individual's seclusion from

ordinary society. When, by an enlightened age, penitentiaries shall be held to be hospitals for moral patients, and not engines to protect society, by holding out the spectacle of the sufferings of *perfectly free* agents, either *paying back* that loss which their actions have occasioned*, or deterring others from crimes, by their example, the duration of the convict's detention will depend, not upon the mere act which brought him there, but upon the continuance of his disease. As long as penitentiary discipline shall consist of severe and degrading compulsory labour, of stripes, irons, insults, and brutality, without an attempt at improvement mental or moral, beyond being herded into a chapel on Sunday for an hour or two,—and this constituted the old idea of a house of correction,—a prescribed and short duration of such irrational usage is imperative. Nay, it was and is the prominent problem of criminal legislation to proportion punishments to crimes,—to weigh out, to an odd scruple, the quantum of suffering which shall counterpoise the quantum of guilt in the *act* committed: and certainly it would be monstrous to detain the convict, on such a principle, one moment longer in the place of mere suffering, than the exact time necessary to permit society to *take out*, in his groans, the supposed debt *ex delicto* contracted by him. But no one is ever sent to an hospital for a previously prescribed period. Sixty days of the infirmary, or the madhouse, as a medical prescription, would be justly ridiculed, in and out of the faculty; and so it will come to be when moral infirmaries, applying rational and effectual means of cure to those afflicted with that worst of diseases called a proclivity to crime, and being withal mild, benevolent, and encouraging to the patient, are substituted for the present irrational treatment. The unhappy criminal will then be regarded more in relation to his moral constitution than his conduct; or if the latter be estimated, it will be in the way of evidence of the former. His sentence for an overt act of

* This is the etymology of *retribution*, and is the vulgar *rationale* of punishment. “*Qui non luit in pecunia, luet in pelle.*” Our law-makers and law-administrators disclaim this in the abstract; but it nevertheless enters largely into their practical judgments, as is well observed by Archbishop Whately.

crime will be restraint of the penitentiary, till an authority, beyond all question as to intelligence, and all suspicion as to uprightness and benevolence, shall deem it safe to venture him once more in society. It is evident that, for such a process, the shortest time must be long. Ordinary education is the work of years; and *a fortiori* must moral training be when working against the wind and tide and current of criminal propensity. Nay, as in lunatic asylums there may be cases of very long duration, there may be cases for life in our asylum, cases of relapse after dismissal, and return to necessary restraint on fresh conviction. These last ought to be held cases for life. If any one shall object that this is any thing but mild treatment of criminals, and that there is more justice in inflicting a month's confinement for a first and slight offence, and then giving the criminal another *chance* for a good life; I would answer, that the latter course is but the first step of a series of penal inflictions, alternating with intervals of the most wretched sensualities and profligacies called freedom, which necessarily bring the sufferer back to punishment—and that, on the proportion principle, more severe than the first—to be again dismissed to greater misery than he leaves, and more resolved upon, and better fitted for, crime. He returns a third time, of course, to your bridewell, to be visited with yet increased infliction, till at last the account of proportion has so much accumulated to his debit, that a violent and ignominious death alone is held adequate expiation. What is the restraint of a few—of a number of years—of a lifetime—in a well constituted reformatory asylum, compared to the cruelty, the injustice, the irrationality of this?

In no part of his treatise is the Archbishop of Dublin more unanswerable than in his argument on what are called first offences, or more properly first convictions. Like the Archbishop, I would never pass over first convictions; but when he would administer to them severe but short pain, I would apply to them long but mild corrective education. If these views are sound, it would soon be with first offences almost exclusively that we should be called upon to deal. In one view of first offences taken by Arch-

bishop Whately I cannot agree, namely, that a first offence, even when slight, shall be visited by sharp and severe suffering, by way of *example* to others. This is as much against our moral perceptions as it would be to punish a slight offence retributively with severe suffering. If it be said that it is expedient to do so, then are expediency and morality at variance, which is absurd. We should have no right, on the principle of either retribution or example, to go beyond a nice apportionment of the penalty to the act; but when the object in view is the moral cure of the individual himself, there is no variance between moral feeling and expediency, even although that cure should require a long seclusion. We never think the longest confinement to a sickbed unjust or disproportionate. This is an answer to the natural question under the old impressions, "Would you send a boy for years to your penitentiary who for the first time steals a shilling?" The theft of the shilling is the symptom of a moral disease which requires the boy's being put under treatment, and it is mercy to him to seclude him, and subject him to the education and training which his unfortunate case requires. Five children, three boys and two girls, were tried at the Old Bailey, the other day, for a course of depredations in London. The eldest was thirteen years of age. One boy and girl lived as husband and wife in lodgings, where they received the other young thieves, and the stolen goods. The husband, twelve years of age, pleaded an *alibi*, and gravely said that he was smoking his pipe at home when the theft was committed. They were convicted and sentenced to punishment after the old fashion. Now, what friend to humanity, and to these unhappy children themselves, would have objected to their seclusion a year or two earlier in a mild penitentiary, and to their dwelling there for years, rather than be subjected to the neglect, and therefore the unjust severity, they actually experience?

But wherein, it will be asked, does my asylum differ from the hitherto most improved penitentiaries, to lead me to expect success, when all other plans have presented a history of failure; and to entitle me to hold that the confinement proposed shall, not only by its mildness, but its advantages to the convict, counter-

balance the evil of its duration ; and yet to those beyond the walls, on whom example ever operates, serve all the purposes of motive to abstain from crime ?

In the substitution of restraint for pain positively inflicted, which last has been found to do nothing, in the way of example, with class first, it is proposed to banish *direct* infliction entirely ; and to be content with secluding the convict, and physically preventing him from doing farther mischief, while we subject him to the operation of a rational system of reformation. It is a remnant of the old leaven to devise ingenious methods of rendering a penitentiary as irksome and disagreeable as possible, that the convict may not be allowed to forget that he is undergoing punishment. Novel though the thesis may appear, it is warranted by knowledge of the faculties of the human mind and their mode of operation, that it is morally impossible to punish, by direct and severe infliction, and reform at one and the same time. The utmost punishment proposed, therefore, is seclusion and solitude. I would inflict no other directly, but, with Mr Livingstone, would provide the means of an undeserving convict *punishing himself*, by falling back into degradation, confinement, and poor fare, just as by idleness he would do in free society. In his lowest state, while it lasts, I should not attempt reformation, because I should inevitably fail ; and this will at once appear if we consider what reformation really is.

Reformation addresses itself to the moral and religious faculties, and to their activity the quiescence of the animal propensities is a necessary requisite. But directly inflicted punishment is addressed to these lower feelings ; it is avowedly intended to excite fear, but it cannot be prevented from rousing resentment, and with that the moral feelings of justice, gratitude and kindness cannot co-operate. It is a solecism to attempt an interchange of kindness when your subject's back is smarting and bleeding from the lashes of your scourge, and he mortally hates, and could murder, his tormentor. You may quell his thirst for vengeance by the power of your position ; but his stripes must heal, and his resentment cool, before you will do more than waste

your breath to talk to him of justice, or mercy, or industry, or self-respect, or piety. He must have time to come round from the settled sullenness of the degrading tread-wheel, that brute labour, before he will be in the mood to respect either himself or the society that torments him; nor is it with the same breath that he can be insulted, vilified, abused, and tyrannically commanded, and also led, by the gentler accents of persuasion, to exchange a ruffian character, aggravated by ill usage, and goaded to revenge, for a temper of peace and good will to all around him. It is one of the fallacies which result from ignorance of the nature and working of the human mind, to expect reformation as a result of punishment. They excite feelings the antipodes of each other, and which, therefore, can as little co-exist as the noon day of London and New Zealand. It is a deplorable error that you can force reform—that you can, in the active sense, reform the convict; **HE MUST REFORM HIMSELF.** It is your part to take care that you do not hinder him by your punishments: but that, on the contrary, you lead him to *will* to amend, by quieting his animal, and calling into activity his moral feelings; gradually bringing back his self-respect, by according him a portion of your approbation as he deserves it; and stimulating his industry, by realizing to him its fruits in a marked melioration of his condition, and improvement of his prospects; with the ultimate reward of restoration to society, furnished with a means of livelihood and a re-established character, and not without the patronage and countenance of the friends and wellwishers of a genuine return to virtue.*

Mr Livingstone's penal infliction is never operating at the same time with his reformatory process; there is no reform attempted while the convict has not yet left his original cell, or has by his own misconduct brought himself back to it. It is not attempted, because it would be fruitless. The beams of moral culture begin to shine upon him, and communicate their warmth and their light, when he is in the mood to come forth and will.

* This would supersede the necessity of the separate establishment of what are called "Houses of Refuge for discharged *criminals*."

ingly resume his labour. According to my humble view, it is essential that all the functionaries in a reformatory shall belong to the third class, and possess a predominating moral and intellectual constitution. With enough of courage and firmness, and general authoritative weight of character, to put down mutiny with a word, or even a look, and fearlessly suppress revolt if it should break out,—which solitude or well-earned society of small numbers would each render next to impossible,—the ordinary demeanour of such persons should be mild, kind, cheerful and encouraging. These qualities would insure, not only the respect, but the affection of the convicts, and such society would itself be the object of their desire, and an incentive to, and reward of, steady and unwearying good conduct. The reform in the functionary department would require to amount to a revolution. You must reform the office-bearers as preliminary to reforming their charge. From the governor down to the humblest servant of the establishment, you must weed out carefully every remnant of classes first and second of human beings; and having filled every department with class third, train the office-bearers in all their degrees to a systematic exercise of their best feelings in their intercourse with the convicts. Look at the grateful confidence which criminals place in a prison governor who has treated them considerately and kindly; or in a clergyman of tranquil benevolence and true Christian humility, who, when they were in prison, has visited them, not to threaten, and denounce and terrify, but gently to lead his fellow sinners from the error of their way. The greatest change would be, that the functionaries, secular and religious,—if these must be distinct, though it might lead more directly to practical religion that they were not distinct,—instead of, as now, guarding, coercing, punishing, locking-up, and always overbearing, degrading, and insulting their unfortunate charge, should devote a large portion of their time to intimate society with them, often share their meals, and generally associate with them.* I am well aware that, from the wretched

* Contrast this with the tremendous infliction of *silence* for years. There are some temperaments on which long enforced silence seems to operate most alarmingly. These, I should conjecture, are stout, healthy,

moral education of the "better" classes of society, a towering prejudice will long be in the way of obtaining men of sufficient moral and religious elevation thus to follow a blessed example, and consent to *dwell* with sinners. This repugnance has a deep foundation in the present degradation of the instruments of the criminal law, those who *execute* punishment. Nothing can be conceived more confirmatory of our whole argument than this very degradation. By a law of our nature, we cannot respect the animal feelings; and from these, and these alone, come the actual infliction of punishment. But when, under a new system, the moral and intellectual faculties in every functionary within the precincts of the asylum, shall be in constant exercise, the contempt will cease with the degraded character, and the office of a criminal reformatory will take rank in social estimation according to the qualities required, and the social benefits bestowed. To many—to the great majority—all this will no doubt appear wild and preposterous; but it is not the less true to nature. There are many evils under which society groans, which can only

active, bustling, social, and talkative persons who have a strong impulse to speak. That there is such an impulse cannot be doubted, and the American prisoners bore their testimony that its enforced and long continued restraint is in the highest degree painful. If this is true, we can conceive the impulse becoming morbid. Mr Rose, the humane and enlightened governor of the National Jail at Edinburgh, lately communicated to me a painful confirmation of this conjecture. J. C. was, three years ago, sentenced by the High Court of Justiciary to fourteen years transportation, which was commuted for confinement in the Millbank penitentiary, where silence is enforced with a rigidity not exceeded in America. The man was about twenty-seven years of age, of unusually strong robust health, accustomed to a life of great bodily and considerable mental activity, and was particularly impatient, irritable, assuming, and talkative. This most unfit subject for the *tailor's board* was nevertheless squatted upon one, and forbid to utter a syllable under pain of severe punishment! The unwonted employment and still more unwonted silence affected his mind, and one day during the chapel service, he started up, and burst into the most maniacal denunciations against the preacher and his doctrine, which he continued till he was taken away and put in confinement. It was found that he had become so decidedly insane, that it was necessary to remove him to a lunatic hospital. It might have been assumed that so *unnatural* a state as continued silence for months or years cannot be free from evil effects. The experiment is at best empirical, and there is something revolting in such blind trials, when productive of severe human suffering.

be cured by means which must shock existing prejudices. But if we will cherish our prejudices, however to our reason they can be demonstrated to be absurd and hurtful, we have no right to complain of individual and social suffering. Yet it would not be difficult, by proper management, in time to overcome the dispositions to vilify the functionaries of a reformatory asylum. I suppose the whole system changed by a grand act of legislation, or an experiment made, under high sanction, in one or two new establishments. Let a few men already high in society, at least of known talents and respectability, set an example, by "taking office" under the system. Let liberal salaries, and even honours, be the reward of the high-mindedness which shall determine such men to devote themselves for so immense a public good. Let the King delight to honour such patriotism; and let all sensible men and women of really good society agree to view it as a passport to, instead of a cause of exclusion from, their circles. These moral physicians would come, in more enlightened times, to suffer no more of debasement from the duties of the moral hospitals in which they practised, than the medical officer now does by his assiduities in a cholera hospital, an infirmary, or a lunatic asylum. Much of the time of the reformators must of course be devoted to the asylum; but so to their respective vocations is the time of well employed professional men, who yet have leisure hours for the pleasures of choicer society, and the solace of the domestic circle. The Archbishop of Dublin has evidently never contemplated this mode of reforming criminals.

But there are yet farther recommendations of an enlightened reformatory system. There is an element in it which will incalculably facilitate its work. It secludes the *young* offender the instant he has by an overt-act manifested criminal tendencies. In calculating the probabilities of the reformation of criminals, we are apt, as the Archbishop has done, to take them as we now find them deforming the face of moral nature in all the ages and degrees of hardened and all but hopeless depravity. There are criminals, I admit, upon whom even such an asylum would fail to produce satisfactory effects; and it is to be feared that many of

the presently existing criminal adults, if once within the walls, must bid adieu to free society. But it is a noble feature of enlightened legislation, that it contemplates the well-being of the race more than that of the existing generation ; and listens not to the selfishness which holds all improvement Utopian which our little selves of an hour are too far gone in moral disease and decrepitude to live to enjoy. We are well entitled to expect great results with the young, and to look to a shorter duration of corrective discipline with them than with the more advanced and confirmed. A few years,—for *years* it ought to be, not as now to punish a first offence, but to change a criminal character,—will reform all young offenders who are reformable.

If the seclusion of young offenders shall lighten the labours, and assure the success of a wise reformatory system, there is yet a previous treatment of the young which will greatly diminish the number of young offenders themselves, and that is the practical moral exercise of INFANT EDUCATION. Infant schools take children, from two years of age to six, off the streets ; collect them to the number of from 100 to 300 in a hall and a play-ground, for six or eight hours every day ; communicate to them, accessorially, no small portion of useful knowledge ; but, principally, exercise them, on a religious basis, in truth, honesty, and mercy, the direct contraries of crimes against property, limb, and life ; and prevent by anticipation, all the wretched habits, prejudices, and ignorances, which render the lower orders intractable and even dangerous. Of course, the idea of *certain* separation from free society for years in the reformatory asylums, as the result of even one slip from rectitude, would be a constant school lesson ; and would, at that age, make a more lasting impression, than at any other, upon the mind. No one who has read the first Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society, which contains a series of incidents that had been noted in watching the workings of moral motives upon the plastic minds of the children, and who reflects that the creatures so engaged are of the rank in life which furnishes the great majority of criminals, will hesitate to join in the fervent hope that the Legislature will speedily come to see the vital im-

portance, the indispensability of infant training, and from the public purse establish schools for it universally in the country. "Give your pence," it was said, when the public of Edinburgh were urged to contribute to the erection of the model school, established there three years ago, "give your pence to infant schools, and save "your pounds on police establishments, jails, bridewells, "transportations, and executions*." I have no doubt that this saving would follow the universality of infant training on the Wilderspin plan, which would be found the best and most rational, I may say the only effectual, prevention of crime.

Mendicity, above all in its most deplorable form infant mendicity, should be rigorously put down.

3d, The convict's restoration to society, when so far reformed as to be fit for it, is the third requisite of our seclusion system. The sentence on the first conviction for crime should be so extensive, as to justify any length of detention which his character may on trial be found to require. A sentence of seclusion, for life, for example, unless declared fit for discharge in a shorter period, by a named commission in which perfect confidence might be placed. It is plain that the sentence for life would operate nominally in all cases in which it would be expedient to shorten the term, and would give legal power of indefinite detention in dangerous and incurable cases; which, if the first commitment were in youth, would rarely, very rarely, occur. Before it is hastily concluded that this life detention is disproportionate to perhaps a first conviction, let it be recollected that the first overt act gives society the right to protect itself against the tendencies by that act manifested, and to seclude the criminal, not in punishment of that act, but for the safety of society, till his moral cure be complete. The present course is to train him on by a series of confinements and discharges, which combine to ripen him for the gibbet, by means of which society protect themselves against *him* certainly very effectually.

* The incidents alluded to furnish proofs of honest restoration of money found, of safety of property of all kinds, of kindness of the children to each other, and of sparing animals and insects when in their power,—not in a few instances, but as the general and ordinary habits of the little community. See Appendix No III.

4th, The fourth requisite is society's protection against the criminal tendencies of others, in so far as example may operate from the mode of seclusion which, inexorably, and without such a thing as pardon, I would propose to apply to *every* convicted criminal, on his or her first offence. Pardon would be as absurd on our system, as pardon of a sick person that he may not go to the hospital, take the medicine, or submit to the surgical operation. Now I know and acknowledge that the proposed treatment applied to others, will not deter the unfortunate beings of class first from crime. But neither do the gallows, the scourge, the tread-wheel, forced labour, the hulks, or transportation. Double, quadruple, if you will, the severity of these inflictions,—re-establish breaking on the wheel, and the furnace, and their terrors will pass over the reckless heads of these slaves of criminal tendencies like the idle wind. Things, therefore, as to that class, suffer no change by any mitigation, or any aggravation, of punishment. But even as to them there is a vast gain to society on the system proposed. As things are, these dangerous members of society are all *at large*. The proper protection is not catching one of the tigers and hanging him up, or shipping him off now and then, while we trust to safety from all the rest who are roaming, to their being sufficiently moved to *will* to abstain from crimes. What sort of protection is this, and who feels safe from it? Who trusts to such motives for his security on the lonely road or in the detached house? Now, in the plan proposed there is almost a certainty of having THE WHOLE OF CLASS FIRST SAFE WITHIN WALLS, AND UNDER TREATMENT. The first conviction of each entitles society to lay hold of him. He has declared the war, by committing the first hostile act. You trust to his will, we to our walls. You let the menagerie loose, we fence it round with all the force of engineering, and we should go to bed probably with much more confidence than you possibly can do.

Class second, whom the present penal sanctions no doubt influence, will be equally influenced by the proposed seclusion. However divested of severe infliction, mere seclusion for an indefinite term of years, complete change of life and status, and so-

cial hopes and prospects, are, in any view, enormous—or, if the Archbishop of Dublin likes the term better, most formidable evils to class second. They are not reckless, but calculating, and will be more influenced by the change of condition—the nearly civil annihilation of an inexorable system, which misses no criminal, pardons none, favours none, than even by the present more severe but more uncertain punishments. To the penitentiary they know they must go on the first offence; prosecutors will no longer flinch; juries no longer perjure themselves to screen them; to the penitentiary for the first offence they must go, and commence a several years' task of rebuilding a character which they might have kept entire. It would, of course, be matter of trial, but we anticipate that not more of class second than now fall, would do so under the new system.

It will, moreover, be kept in mind, that individuals of class second are just those who, in the nicely-trimmed balance of their characters between good and evil, and their dependence upon circumstances for the preponderance, are the most likely to benefit by the judicious PREVENTIVE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, which I am entitled to assume COEXISTENT, all over the country, with the reformatory asylums. This class are farther capable of much higher education and intellectual improvement than class first. It has been proved that a great extent of knowledge and resource may, at a very cheap rate, be put within the reach of the humbler ranks of society. Such pursuits, provided there has been previous education, elevate the mind above the mere sensuality that leads to crime; fill up, with these the time otherwise wasted in idleness and vice, and you will give those juster views of the relations of things, and of causes and consequences in the conduct of life, which form such important elements in prudence and respectability. If class first may, in various degrees, be morally improved within the new asylum, class second may be reformed out of it, so as never to require to come within its walls.

It will be said by those who hesitate to place confidence in views so violently novel,—so contrary to all preconceived notions on the subject of crimes and punishments, that crime is a wide

word ; that it includes violence to the person as well as plunder of the property—maiming and murder, as well as theft and robbery, forging and swindling ; that the maimer or murderer is a totally different kind of criminal from the thief, and that what may deter the one will not deter the other ; that the thief is a calculator, the murderer the momentary slave of a sudden and often insane impulse. Such murderer's crime the Americans denominate murder in the second degree. But the murderer in the first degree, who has coolly premeditated and planned his act of blood, is as much a calculator as the robber of a bank, who has laid his plan and watched its operation for a twelvemonth. Such a murderer has time and coolness to calculate all chances and consequences, and seclusion—in his case decidedly for life—must and will form a considerable element in his formula. If the history, of all murderers, in either degree, were inquired into, from their childhood to their exit on the scaffold, I will peril the whole question upon the fact that they will almost all be found to belong to class first. My own knowledge on this head is by no means limited, and I have seen no exception. Such persons have all manifested a vicious, ferocious, and revengeful childhood and youth, and an intensely selfish, sensual, and turbulent disposition ; and have come forth in overt acts of violence and cruelty, long before their final crime of murder. Those sons of violence are as well known, and as ascertainable in their progress to their last act of outrage against the person, as the thieves in their war against property, and require reformatory treatment quite as much ; and although the proposition may be new, and therefore startling, I would place the ferocious, vindictive, and cruel, under treatment in their youth, whenever a conviction of criminal injury is recorded against them. But the plunderers are as five hundred to one to the slayers. Murder is abjured by your adroit thief ; it is too clumsy and noisy a transference of property ; and as a concomitant of robbery, it is now rarely resorted to. It is for the most part the act of mere revenge, or sudden rage, and not seldom of insanity. The murders by maniacs or monomaniacs, whose specific insanity is an uncontrollable appetite to shed blood,

being deducted, as clearly the acts of irresponsible agents, there will remain few *sane* murderers to be disposed of.*

The obvious course with the infant violent and cruel—for the propensity can be dated from the cradle—is to exercise them practically in mildness and mercy, in an intercourse with children of their own age; to wean them from all cruel practices and destructive habits, from all injury to other children and animals, and from all impulses to break, deface, and destroy†.

When past the age of the infant school, young persons who continue dangerous should be narrowly watched; and the first act of violent or cruel injury should, without partiality, consign the actor to the asylum. This, as in the case of other crimes, is justice and mercy to the individual himself. The real interest of the criminal and the public coincide in nature; it is a false theory which would represent them as opposed. Insane homicides are of course fit subjects for a lunatic asylum; the blood shed by them is as much inevitable calamity, as if it had been shed by a wild beast, or an accident. But society, from ignorance of the incipient and progressive symptoms of insanity, are remiss in observing the unhappy victims of this disease, who all exhibit insane tendencies to injure and destroy, long before they actually take life. If the reformatory asylum be a moral hospital, and not a place of artificial infliction, insanity itself may, in its predisposed inmates‡, be warded off by its discipline.

I am, therefore, of those who advocate **THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN ALL CASES WHATEVER**. In offences against property, I deny both the right to inflict capital punishment, and the expediency; and, although in crimes against limb

* See this important and novel subject treated of in the Appendix No. II.

† For the beautiful results of this moral training, see again Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society for 1832, Appendix No. III. To that Report we would especially draw the attention of the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Infant schools, and these alone, will meet their benevolent wishes, and supersede their *present* fruitless labours.

‡ Archbishop Whately's belief that insane persons may be restrained by the fear of punishment, proceeds from the entire mistake of the nature of insanity which yet pervades society. See Appendix No II.

and life I may grant the right, I utterly deny the expediency. Society will gain nothing, but lose much, by its infliction ; and ought therefore, in such cases, as have resisted all early preventive training, and eluded all subsequent watchfulness and restraint, to be content with seclusion for life of the miserable murderer.

The Solicitor-General of England would punish capitally, as is observed in the outset, such crimes as the individual attacked might have *repelled* by taking life. With deference, there is a fallacy here. An individual assailed is urged and justified, by a law of nature, to defend his own life by destroying his assailant ; but the relation between society and the criminal is totally different *after* the murder is committed. It can no longer be prevented, the urgency has ceased, and the treatment of the criminal is to be judged of by altogether different views of expediency, on the principles I have been endeavouring to unfold. We may kill even a maniac who would otherwise kill us ; but, suppose he triumphs, who would dream of putting him to death for our homicide, because we had a right to kill him when he attacked us.

The Prison Discipline Society, and the Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishments, are both for visiting even murder with a lesser punishment than death. The Americans, it is thought erroneously, reserve it for premeditated murder. The humane and profound Beccaria, a century ago, denounced capital punishment *in toto*, and so much *shocked* an unprepared age, that he concealed his name. The feeling is yet almost all-prevalent, that murder *deserves* capital punishment, and will never be *prevented* without it. Here are retribution and example again ;—the first we have already shown, disowned in the abstract, and the last inoperative upon maniacs, and upon the same who would not be sufficiently deterred by the prospect of detention for life in the proposed penitentiary. I trust, therefore, that we may be speedily delivered from witnessing the tremendous spectacle of man putting man to death ; that act which none can see without moral deterioration ; and of which the *private* perpetration, proposed by Archbishop Whately from the best motives, is only an aggravation

of the horrors which we in vain attempt to banish from our mind when we think of capital punishments*.

Lastly, The last requisite is economy. The present system is any thing but economical. The secondary punishment of transportation is notoriously costly and unproductive ; so are the hulks ; and so are all the houses of correction and jails,—the great majority in this country,—which do not, by the labour of the inmates, pay the whole or a part of their own expense. Of course, all this expense, which would be saved, falls to be deducted from that of the general establishment of our proposed reformatory asylums ; nay, much of the loss, and it is immense, which society sustains by criminal depredations, will be saved, when the depredators are secluded and taken care of in a distinct society made for them. Some of the American penitentiaries, by the introduction of profitable labour, have more than cleared their own annual expense, and might therefore rear a sinking fund to pay off the original outlay of the buildings. Auburn, in one year, realized 40,000 dollars, besides building 200 additional cells, and erecting a stone shop 150 feet long by 56 broad. What is to hinder this being done with every penitentiary in this country ? Glasgow bridewell comes near to it †. There must exist, at present, prisons and bridewells which *do* contain all convicted, besides all accused, persons. In these places of confinement, according to the Committee of the House of Commons, 122,000 persons accused of crimes, in seven years ending in 1831, were actually confined ‡.

* The writer of this paper thinks the Archbishop right, in holding the Old Testament declaration, “ Whoso sheddeth man’s blood,” &c., not binding under the Christian dispensation. It is not *thereon* that he approves of capital punishment.

† It has often occurred that our soldiers and sailors might be rendered more productive labourers than they are. Both services would even be benefited, if some useful manufacture were established in every barrack, and ship of war, at which the men could be easily taught to work for some hours each day when off duty.

‡ I surely need not guard the reader from the supposition that I mean to include the detained for trial, the presumed innocent, in our penitentiary,—to put the unproved sick into our hospital. Places of mere detention require their own reforms to prevent injustice and contamination ; and trial should speedily *follow* apprehension.

of these 85,000 were convicted. One-seventh of this number, or about 12,000, was the average amount of the annual convictions. But there would, under the new system, be no such amount of *new and distinct individuals*. Under the present wretched system of conviction and reconviction we may presume that, in these seven years, the same individual, in every case, contributed to swell the catalogue of convictions by repeated appearances. Besides, the average of actual convictions in these last seven years has so immensely increased upon that of the preceding seven years, and still more on the same period antecedent to them, (62,000 and 35,000 respectively,) that I cannot help indulging the hope that so vast a social retrogression has some cause which will not operate permanently. But had each offender, when first convicted, been consigned to the proposed asylum, the convictions would have shewn a greatly smaller sum, and the number of individual criminals—for that is the consideration in estimating the extent and number of penitentiaries—a much more manageable result. The securing, too, of the old offenders, who train the young, would operate most beneficially. The difficulties will of course, as in all reforms, be greatest at the first. The present race of adult criminals would prove a heavy load upon our working; but even that is not insuperable; and it is a necessary evil which we must meet, as we would a war, or any other object worthy of a national effort. We should be immense gainers in the end; in less than half a generation—for justice as well as benevolence legislates for posterity. Society would reap all the fruit of preventive training and early reformatory treatment which I so confidently anticipate; and then the establishments and the buildings, which may be required by our present circumstances, would be found unnecessarily extensive and numerous.

Such are the views which I would humbly, but earnestly, press upon the consideration of the intellectual and moral leaders of public opinion, as likely to solve that baffling problem of criminal legislation, the efficient, at least the reasonable, protection of society from crime. They involve, *first*, THE REALIZATION,—AND

THAT BY THE NATION, FOR IT IS HOPELESS FROM VOLUNTARY PHILANTHROPY,—of AN UNIVERSAL SYSTEM OF PREVENTIVE EDUCATION, commenced all but in the cradle, and carried on till useful knowledge and intellectual resource shall improve the character and elevate the pursuits ;—*secondly*, The instant and rigid seclusion—the earlier in life the better—of each unfortunate individual, whose disposition to crime is manifested by an overt act, for want, or in spite of, previous preventive education ;—*thirdly*, The appli-ance of a course of reformatory treatment to his moral disease, of sufficient duration to change his habits, and give a higher direction to his faculties ; and, as is done in lunatic asylums, the detention of the patient until the cure is so far wrought as to render it safe to venture him again in society ;—*fourthly*,—and it is an entire novelty in practice, if not in theory,—The application to this cure of moral and not of animal means. Medically, according to our light, we consult the patient's organic and functionary constitution, in order to determine the treatment of his disease : with a view to a moral cure, we must consult no less the principles of our subject's moral being ; and, contented with the safety we enjoy from his secure detention and seclusion, and with the operation of that seclusion, in the way of example, upon those without the walls whose mental and moral condition fits them to be swayed by example at all, we shall provide for him a mode of life so arranged that, without direct or artificial infliction of pain and suffering upon his body, beyond the calm turning of a key upon him when of himself he descends to zero, he may chuse his own position between the extreme of solitary privation, and as much of social comfort and happiness as the necessary evil of detention will permit, which evil itself he shall have it also in his power greatly to abridge. The moment he voluntarily emerges from the lowest part of the scale,—which he must first endure that he may know it, and may afterwards, if he chuses, return to it,—he shall breathe in an atmosphere religious, moral, and intellectual, and be thereby stimulated to improve his own condition, physical and moral, which, at one and the same time,

will diminish the irksomeness of his confinement, elevate his character to self-respect, and fit him essentially for a reputable return to society *.

If such views are yet in advance of the age—if we cannot brook the idea of divorcing two things *apparently* so naturally linked together, as crime and retributive and exemplary pain directly inflicted, we have no right to complain of the failure, and the suffering, with which the Creator has willed that all attempts to found our institutions upon the inferior propensities shall punish themselves. But the hour is on the wing when the great truth will be practically acknowledged, that the Author of Nature has constituted human affairs in relation to the supremacy of the moral part of man over the animal,—of the law in the mind over the law in the members, and when all human institutions will take a character in accordance with that truth;—a truth old in Scripture, but new to human practice,—the most important in its height, and depth, and length, and breadth, the most all-pervading in its application to human concerns, here and hereafter, that has ever dawned on philosophy;—which the most advanced student of the relations of social man will find the load-star of his course, steer he whithersoever he will through the expanse of the moral universe, and alike his torch search he into the secret shadows of domestic life and individual motive;—at once the tele-

* I earnestly recommend “A Treatise on Gaols and Penitentiaries, by Major James Palmer, one of the Inspectors-General of Prisons in Ireland.” The coincidence of the writer’s views, in *almost* every point, is a gratifying proof of the march of the high moral principles which I humbly advocate; while his practical experience leading him to adopt them, gives me yet stronger assurance that they must and will prevail. He is more of an *inflicter*—though not much—than I am inclined to be; chiefly to take from the Penitentiary the attractions of a comfortable settlement to *voluntary* criminals. But it must not be forgotten, that, with Mr Livingstone, I propose six or twelve months sufficiently unattractive probation for all that enter the walls; and after that, a reformatory seclusion, which must last for years. Honest labour must indeed be scarce in free society, if *this* shall be preferred to liberty. Assuredly no one would make the choice twice,—the best reason for not making it all. I have also seen the presentment by the Grand Jury to the Chairman of the Middlesex Sessions, of 15th March 1833. It is a document creditable to the age and country. I could adopt *almost* every word of it.

scope for the vast and the microscope for the minute—the blood with which the heart swells and the extremest capillary beats ;—“ the kingdom of Heaven within us,”—the essence of Christianity. We see the moral faculties, in many improvements in the social system, besides the benevolent mitigation of punishments, pointing instinctively to their legitimate results ; and we hail their influence with joy, because we are persuaded that the constitution of Creation is in harmony with their dictates, and that they will lead us to sound and successful practical conclusions, if once allowed to guide our social arrangements.

Since the foregoing paper appeared in the *Edinburgh Law Journal*, I have perused the Reports for 1833 of the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, and of the House of Refuge of Philadelphia. These convey the latest information which has yet come from America. The first of these reports is gratifying, in so far as it is, in its whole spirit and principle, a marked advance upon the Auburns, Weatherfields, and all the penitentiaries, except Mr Livingstone's, to which we have alluded. The improved model described is the State Penitentiary of the Eastern district of Pennsylvania ; and the report states that it has been adopted by the Western Penitentiary, by the prison for the city and county of Philadelphia, by that for the counties of Alleghany and West Chester, and by the state of New Jersey, in virtue of an act of its legislature. The objects of this system are reformation of the criminal, and deterring others from committing crimes. The means are the perfect and total separation of the prisoners, night and day, from the beginning to the end of their confinement, with labour in their solitude ; while the visits of the prison-officers, who are moral, religious, and humane persons, constitute the only relief to the prisoner in his seclusion, and the means of his reformation. The prisoner is taught to read if he requires to be so, and the Bible and well selected books of a library are lent him for his hours of leisure. He is taught a trade

if unacquainted with one, the principal being weaving and shoe-making; but there are also carpenters, blacksmiths, dyers, wheelwrights, &c. He is treated with kindness and encouragement, but firmness, and is never punished with the lash. Neatness and cleanliness are carefully observed, both in the cells and persons of the prisoners,—exercise is regular, diet is plain and nutritive, and clothing and bedding suitably comfortable.

The results have hitherto been satisfactory, and are highly spoken of in the report, as the admiration alike of natives and strangers. No convict discharged has ever returned; either, it is said, from reformation, or dread of the solitude. Health is not injured by the solitude, inasmuch as communication is continual with the prison-officers. No provision, however, seems to be made for the stated visits of the members of an association of benevolent and enlightened persons, to aid the functionaries in lightening the prison solitude, and encouraging the prisoners in the progress of their reformation,—a christian duty, in the exercise of which an unbounded source of usefulness presents itself to both sexes. Occasional visits, however, of benevolent and pious individuals, are mentioned. Many instances of reformation are recorded, and others which prove that the solitary system is an object of terror to those criminals, at least, who have experienced it. Work is eagerly applied for to relieve the irksomeness of solitude. Pardons are most wisely granted with so much difficulty, that they are rarely applied for. Lastly, the prison has paid hitherto, every expense but the officers' salaries, which it is expected in due time also to defray.

My humble observation on this system is, that, while it has more of terror in it than I have recommended, it has less chance of producing genuine and lasting reformation,—real improvement of character. If the plan I have submitted possesses example enough, to all who are ever swayed by example, *solitude for years* is a fearful degree of severity. It farther does not present that encouragement to improvement in industry, skill, and character, which what has been called promotion in the prison itself,—namely to society and other advantages,—furnishes. . It is too

inflictive, too retributive, for those who are viewed as unhappy *patients*. But it possesses one essential advantage, namely, that were it once established, all the higher appliances which I have advocated could be experimentally engrafted upon it. The Eastern Pennsylvanian penitentiary is a grand advance in the general system.

The Philadelphian House of Refuge for young offenders, is the most perfect institution of the kind I have ever seen described. It is a place of confinement, and so far is a penitentiary for the young. The magistrate can commit to it, and the friends of the young offender often apply to have him or her admitted. The education and work however, are not, and could not well be, solitary. The expense is great, and cannot, to any considerable amount, be defrayed by the apprentice-labour of the inmates. Such an institution would be invaluable for juvenile offenders discharged from our prisons, as they are *now* constituted ; but, as formerly observed, entirely superfluous in addition to penitentiaries upon the plan recommended. The objection that the inmates of our present prisons will not be received into honest employments, will be found to apply as little to proper Penitentiaries as to the Philadelphia House of Refuge.

No. II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEGREE OF KNOWLEDGE YET
APPLIED TO THE INVESTIGATION OF INSANITY IN
TRIALS FOR CRIME, CHIEFLY VIOLENCE AND HOMI-
CIDE.*

THE state of judicial practice in dealing with the defence of insanity, is far from satisfactory. It is much to be feared that the capital punishment of the insane, and, of course, the irresponsible, is not an unfrequent spectacle. No blame is imputable to judges and juries; they conscientiously act, for the public interest, according to the best of their lights; but these are yet weak and glimmering, in the criminal courts of Europe, while stronger are shining on the outside than have yet penetrated their walls. I would not counsel precipitation in enlarging the boundaries of this most difficult branch of medical jurisprudence; but, convinced that these are actually narrow and unphilosophical, I hold it to be the duty of all who have access to probable means of rendering them more comprehensive as well as accurate, to make their views as public as possible; that, if sound, they may work their way, and by degrees diminish the sum of unconscious injustice and cruelty which results from the crude notions yet prevalent on the subject.

That mind which God has visited with disease is irresponsible and unpunishable, is the law of both Scotland and England; otherwise the defence of insanity would not be sanctioned in our courts of law at all. The too common but irrational doctrine that the insane, who, from the uncontrollable impulse of disease,

* This paper appeared, in substance, in No. V. of the Edinburgh Law Journal.

commit acts which, in the sane, amount to capital crimes, should be immolated without mercy, is disavowed by the existing laws of civilized society. It is a doctrine of ignorance, indolence, and selfishness. We heard it lately propounded, in its usual dogmatical formula, "I am clear for hanging all criminal madmen," by an educated gentleman, and put down at once by a high officer of the criminal law, to whom, in the worst taste, it was addressed, by the reply, that *that* might be very convenient: but it was not the law of Scotland. That law, we doubt not, would punish the practical application of such a doctrine. It would be a waste of time to enter here into a serious refutation of it. Assuming, then, as a fixed point, that insanity, when established, is followed by immunity from punishment, though not from constraint, the field in which we shall work most profitably seems to be, to assist in pointing out the means of discriminating, more satisfactorily than has hitherto been done, when and in what circumstances defence of insanity is admissible.

Nothing can be more coarse than the tests or indicia upon which criminal courts at present judge. They recognise insanity only in the broad lines of fury and extravagance, and consider the presence of arrangement or design, or adaptation of means to a rational end, quaintly called "method in the madness," as quite incompatible with mental alienation or irresponsibility;—little recking that there may, and often does, exist in the mind a single isolated impulse, swaying, when in paroxysm, the will, in controlling the reason, to the extent of unquestionable irresponsibility, while all the mind besides, and that *instantly* when the fit is off, is entire, acute, and reasonable.

Our criminal law itself is faultless in *principle*. All the writers down to Mr Alison concur in stating it to be law, that "to amount to a complete bar to punishment, the insanity, either at the time of committing the crime, or of the trial, must have been of such a kind as entirely deprived the accused of the use of reason, *as applied to the act in question*, and the knowledge that he was doing wrong in committing it*." Of course, it is

*Alison's Criminal Law, page 645.

the aberration of mind as to the particular act in the *concrete* which is considered ; although, when questioned, the patient may readily admit that the act, in the *abstrac'*, is a crime. But as no rule can be laid down by which the degree of insanity, which amounts to unconsciousness of doing wrong, is ascertained, all the authorities concur in the sound doctrine, that this must in every particular case be left to the jury, on considering the evidence. Now it is plain, that the jury will judge well or ill, according to their knowledge—or the knowledge of the professional witnesses who enlighten, and the judge who directs them—of the true indicia of that degree of mental alienation which does take away the consciousness of crime in the concrete, or may be presumed to do so ; and it is just here that knowledge is yet wanted.

The law books furnish a number of instances where the plea of insanity was admitted or repelled. The cases in which the defence has been admitted are all so broad, as to relieve the most scrupulous from apprehension that any person *not* insane has escaped the punishment of his crimes. It is not so certain that the converse is to be relied on. “It is not to be understood,” says Mr Hume, “that there is any privilege of mere weakness of intellect, or of a strange and moody humour, or of a crazy and capricious or irregular temper and habit. None of these things either are or ought to be law.” Mr Alison says : “But any thing short of this complete alienation of reason will be no defence ; and mere oddity of manner, or *half* craziness of disposition, if unaccompanied by such an obscuring of the conscience, will not avail the prisoner.” We find the law books speaking of *partial* insanity ; *half* crazy, *partially* deranged are the expressions. Lord Hale is quoted by Mr Alison as saying ; “It is the condition of very many, especially melancholy persons, who for the most part discover their defect in *excessive fears and griefs*, and yet are not wholly destitute of the use of reason : but this *partial* insanity seems not to excuse them in the committal of any capital offence. Doubtless *mad* persons that kill themselves are under a *partial* degree of insanity ; but it must rest upon circumstances, to be duly weighed by the judge and

jury, lest, on the one hand, there be an inhumanity towards the “defects of human nature, or, on the other, too great an indulgence shewn to great crimes.” Before I have done, I trust it will appear that the ignorance of insanity involved in an authority like this is lamentable.

Mr Hume’s doctrine is approved by Mr Alison, that such partial insanities should be a screen from a verdict of guilty, but afford a good ground of appeal to the royal mercy. Yet that which both these authors would, in all likelihood, deem partial insanity, may constitute more complete irresponsibility, than even the violence which the law denominates furiosity. Mr Alison very properly disapproves of the law, as laid down by Chief-Justice Mansfield, in the case of Bellingham, who assassinated Mr Percival. That judge held that Bellingham was accountable, because *he knew murder to be a crime, and could distinguish right from wrong*. “On this case,” says Mr Alison, “it may be observed, that unquestionably the mere fancying a series of injuries to have been received, will not serve as an excuse for murder, for this plain reason, that, supposing it true that such injuries had been received, they would have furnished no excuse for the shedding of blood; but, on the other hand, such an illusion as deprives the pannel of the sense of *what he did* was wrong, amounts to legal insanity, though he was perfectly aware that murder in general was a crime; and, therefore, the law appears to have been more correctly *laid down* in the cases of Hatfield and Bowler than in this instance, though no injustice may have been committed in *the actual result*.” Mr Alison forgets that that result was the execution of John Bellingham, who suffered upon the laying down of the law which did not take into account the prisoner’s consciousness or unconsciousness that *what he did* was wrong. The opinion is now very general that Bellingham was insane, and that his punishment was a sacrifice to the excited feelings of the public,—in other words, an act of vengeance.

Nicolson, too, the unhappy murderer, without a motive—every rational motive being on the other side,—of a kind master and mistress, Mr and Mrs Bonar, could not possibly know *what he*

he was doing. The impulse which hurried him to that deed will be explained in the sequel; it is one yet nearly unknown to courts of justice.

The case of Robert Dean, tried at the Surry assizes at Kingston in 1819, and executed, affords another example of *how much* our neighbours will reject as insufficient evidence of insanity. Dean was a young man, of weak intellect, and very strong animal passions. He had fixed his affections upon a young woman of situation in life superior to his own, and was rejected by her. The rejection excited ungovernable feelings of revenge, and he determined on the murder of her whom he loved. He had, at the same time, strong religious feelings, and it occurred to him that, by putting the young woman to death, he would send an unprepared sinner into the presence of her Judge. But the impulse to shed blood had taken irresistible possession of him, and there was a child of which he was very fond, whom he often carried in his arms and treated with sweetmeats, who, he concluded, had fewer sins to answer for, and this he determined should be the victim. He slaughtered the innocent child, and gave himself up to justice. The act, itself a sufficient proof of insanity, was strengthened by insane notions and actions, and absolute raving even on the scaffold itself. What did society, that could have confined that unhappy creature, gain by his death?

The case of Captain Moir, some timesince executed at Chelmsford, was one of very doubtful sanity,

Matters are no better in France; or rather *were*; for the exposure of some recent judicial murders has had the effect of making the French judges pause; and persons have lately been treated as patients, whom the previous practice would have put to death as criminals. The instances which have staggered the thinking men in France, and have produced the most beneficial discussions, were those of Lecouffe, Feldtmann, and Papavoin, all of which occurred in 1823. The account of the two first forms the substance of a report by M. Georget, a celebrated physician of insanity in Paris, published in the Archives of Medicine, vol. viii. p. 177. Louis Lecouffe, a young man of twenty-four years of age,

was tried by the Court of Assizes at Paris, for the murder, at the instigation of his mother, of a woman, with whom he was on the most friendly terms; and whom he farther robbed of plate, which was pawned for 230 francs, of which his mother, who possessed an extraordinary influence over him, gave him only 40. It was proved that he was *epileptic* from infancy, and had had what the witnesses called *some disease of the head*. He was held by them to be an idiot or fool. At fifteen he shewed manifest signs of insanity, and affirmed that God came often to visit him. A physician who heard him, pronounced him deranged. He confessed the murder, directed, as he said, by an apparition of his father with an angel at his right hand, while God, placing his hand upon his heart, said, "I pardon thee," and commanded him to confess every thing in three days. One of the keepers of the Conciergerie declared that Lecouffe spoke incoherently in prison, and that he changed his *system* several times in half an hour. He appeared to this witness idiotical and weak-minded, *but not exactly what might be called insane*. The chief keeper said, that he had often seen the accused with haggard looks and eyes filled with tears, complain of headach, but without manifesting any true derangement of mind. During the trial, Lecouffe was often seized with violent convulsions. A physician deponed that he saw nothing in the *appearances* of Lecouffe which indicated a tendency to epilepsy; and that the *skull* shewed no deformity, and did not indicate any species of mental derangement. The Advocate-General, says M. Georget, supported the accusation, and strongly reprobated the *allegation* of inbecility; a dangerous system, said he, which is resorted to in all desperate cases, and by which it would be *so easy* to secure the impunity of the most atrocious. He then endeavoured to prove, by the tendency of the whole life of the accused,—by the very nature of the crime imputed to him,—by the hypocrisy and malice of his defence,—that Lecouffe possessed all his faculties in spite of the execrable abuse he made of them. He supported his argument by the officers of the Conciergerie, who, he said, had never remarked in him the *slightest sign* of mental derangement. We are told, says the advocate-general, that

he is sometimes heard groaning during the night; that he utters mournful cries, and complains of being tormented by nocturnal apparitions, and thinks he sees his father and his victim issuing from the tomb to reproach him with his crime. But we know the source of these terrors; they had already seized him on the field of murder, when conducted to the place where he had slaughtered his victim. They are the effect of the implacable remorse which pursues him. His frightful features announce the disorder, and the tempest of tumultuous passions which devour his heart.

The advocate of the accused alleged in vain the existence of insanity, or at least great weakness of mind. Lecouffe was condemned, and shortly after executed.

On this unphilosophical, ignorant, and unfeeling rhapsody of the advocate-general, M. Georget remarks: "The alienation of the mental faculties of Lecouffe is abundantly evident from the account we have given of his state—from the nature of the crime—and from his conduct *long prior to*, as well as after, the trial. The advocate-general, in giving way to his piece of eloquence, overlooks altogether the fact, that Lecouffe had complained of being visited by apparitions, and by the Deity himself, nine years before the deed was committed, to the remorse consequent upon which deed these visions are attempted to be traced. Remorse and fearful agitation he certainly did feel; but, instead of this being turned against him to his destruction, it ought rather to have saved him, insomuch as it shewed that he did not act from a ferocious thirst of blood, from which society could be protected only by his death, but from the overpowering influence of a wicked adviser, whom his imbecility had taught him to fear and obey. The deed itself was in opposition to his natural character. He entertained a kindly feeling towards his victim, and habitually paid her attentions. He, therefore, could not murder her with malice or revenge. He robbed her of 230 francs, which he might have taken without violence; and yet, how much did he gain? forty francs, to pay the expenses of his wedding! Certes, the motives to the act are no more in relation to the enormity of the crime, than to the sentiments of Lecouffe for his victim;

and it is therefore elsewhere that we must seek the cause, and, in our opinion, it is evidently to be found in mental derangement.”

The advocate-general stated, without foundation, that the officers of the prison had never remarked the *slightest* sign of mental derangement; while, in point of fact, one of them stated that the prisoner talked incoherently, and seemed idiotical and weak-minded, but not exactly what might be called *insane*; the vulgar notion being that insanity's characteristics are violent, furious, and dangerous; this reservation is greatly more common than just in criminal trials. But it was needless to require more than disease in the head when young, epilepsy from infancy, insanity at fifteen, and convulsions in court under the very eyes of his judges. Epilepsy frequently impairs the mind, and then very generally ends in idiotism. M. Georget, in noticing this important fact, copies a table from M. Esquirol, from which it appears that, out of 339 *epileptics* in the Salpetriere of Paris in 1822, 2 were monomaniacs: 64 maniacs, of whom 34 were furious; 145 imbecile, of whom 129 were so only after the attack: 8 were idiots; 50 were generally reasonable but with loss of memory, exaltation in the ideas, sometimes a passing delirium and a tendency to idiotism; 60 were without any derangement of intellect, but possessed of great susceptibility, irascible, obstinate, *difficiles à vivre*, capricious and eccentric*.

It may be asked what testimony was adduced to determine the Court to declare this wretched creature *sane*, in the face of all this demonstration of his insanity. To our grief and surprise, we find nothing which does not carry its own refutation. A physician “saw nothing in the prisoner's appearance which indicated any tendency to epilepsy, and said that the skull shewed no deformity, and did not indicate any species of mental derangement.” Every person informed on the subject will at once condemn this witness as having given a very loose and ignorant evidence. It is possible that he may have meant to convey only the impression made on his own mind by the outward appearance of Le-

* Dictionnaire de Medecine, Art. EPILEPSIE.

couffe ; but if the Court and Jury regarded his words as expressing his deliberate opinion of the mental state of the accused, then he has much with which to reproach himself, for it is notoriously impossible to tell from the external appearance that a person is subject to epilepsy, and equally absurd to say that the form of the skull indicates the existence of mental derangement.

The case of Feldtmann is one of unusual horror. This wretched man stabbed his own daughter with a knife, after several years' resistance by her to an incestuous passion which he had conceived for her. He at once gave himself up to justice, glorying in the deed. His wife spoke to his having often shewn derangement, "*la tête perdue.*" He had had his skull fractured in his youth, and had been mad in consequence. He entered a Protestant church one day, covered with mud, sat down, talked incoherently, and wept without ceasing. There was rather a lack of evidence of similar eccentricities, which generally weigh so much with courts and juries. Feldtmann was condemned and executed. The question of the existence of insanity may, in his case, be regarded as much more difficult of solution than in the case of Lecouffe, and yet many circumstances concur to prove that disease actually existed. M. Georget, who was on the spot, gives it as his opinion, that Feldtmann was not insane in all his faculties ; but he thinks that the passion which led to the crime had aggravated into a disease, requiring for its cure seclusion from society ; and his opinion is greatly confirmed by the declaration of the excellent and experienced anatomist M. Breschet, who examined the brain, and who did not think it presented the appearance of health. The very existence, for so many years, of such an unnatural passion as that of Feldtmann's is itself disease, and will require but little aid from other indicia to warrant preventive measures for the safety of society, instead of vindictive, when the passion has broke out into some horrible act. In the sequel I shall add a few words upon the signs of that madness which is real, although the inexperienced eye does not mark it ; at present I am only enumerating some cases where the alleged maniacs were put to death.

The case of Papavoin, had it occurred in Scotland, at least now, could not have been treated as a case of sanity or responsibility. This man was executed at Paris, for the murder of *two children previously unknown to him, and whom he accidentally saw, accompanied by their mother, in the wood of Vincennes*. The very absence of all conceivable motive to such an act, forces us to take refuge, for the sake of humanity, in the belief of insanity, even had there been no other indicia. But even these last were numerous. It was proved at the trial that the prisoner's father had been subject to mental aberrations,—to fits of fury, during which he broke and smashed every thing. That the son had been marked as a *solitary being*, shunning society, fleeing from his companions, and always sombre and melancholy, walking often alone in solitary places. Nobody ever knew him intimately, and he never communicated his thoughts to others. In 1823, the utter ruin of his father increased the prisoner's melancholy and irritability. He had besides an attack of mental alienation, which lasted ten days, and two witnesses deposed to it as follows: "He was," said a person employed in the Marine at Brest, where the prisoner had a clerkship, "in a state of fever; he said that a man beset him, that he saw him, and wished to have a pistol to defend himself with." An officer of health, under whose care the prisoner had been, deposed that he was sombre, suspicious, believing always that people were occupied about him, fleeing the society of women, and often of men; his temper was exasperated; he saw a secret enemy who appeared to him as a ghost, and attempted his life. The witness believed the prisoner melancholy and hypochondriac. After his father's death he became worse; gave up his employment at Brest, when he only the more required it for a livelihood, and returned home, where he insisted with his mother that his father was not dead, but had been buried alive. He went to visit a friend for some days, who thought him "physically and morally changed;" he would often cry out with the accent of despair, "What! not an instant of happiness! I believe in truth that I am mad!" A paper was one day in his friend's hand, on which he remarked the letters O N. "What is the

meaning of that ?" said Papavoin. "Nothing," said the witness. "I know what it means ; it means *they drown people here !*" (*on noye ici*). Several other strange fancies were proved, such as, horror of a razor, when they proposed to shave him, and such like. He came to Paris to settle accounts with his banker, still indulging in solitary walks, one of which happened to be in the wood of Vincennes. There he saw a lady walking with two young children. He returned to the village and bought a knife, came back immediately, accosted the lady with a pale look and troubled voice, and stooping as if to embrace one of the children, plunged the knife into its heart, and while the astonished mother was engaged with the first victim, he killed the other in the same manner ; *he then fled with a hurried step and buried himself in the wood*. The jailor of the prison of La Force, in which Papavoin was confined before his condemnation, deposed that he was sometimes in a most terrified state : that he had moments of fury, when his hair bristled up,—the only time he (the jailor) ever saw the hair so affected ; his countenance became of a lively red, and he terrified the very soldiers that surrounded him. All these facts are to be found in the process against the wretched Papavoin ; they did not save him, but they are quite sufficient to establish the conclusion that he committed the dreadful deed, for which he suffered, in a fit of insanity. A case so extreme has done good in France. It was too much even for the present lights. It divided the country into two parties, one of whom pertinaciously defended the judgment, while the other loudly denounced it as a murder by the arm of the law. The effect, however, has been seen in a more recent case in the Parisian courts, in which a patient like Papavoin was rescued from the executioner, and given over to a keeper ;—an homage to truth and justice, when pride was no longer assailed.

A case occurred in the Court of Assizes at Paris of simulated madness, that of Jean Pierre, which tended to shew how easy the detection of this attempt is. This man's crime, in the first place, was forgery, which is essentially simulation, and is rarely the result of insanity. There was no evidence of insanity or any

thing like it, till *after* his apprehension ; whereas the history of Lecouffe and Feldtmann went back for years. He was sent to the Bicêtre Hospital for the insane, to be observed. He contrived to raise a fire and escape, and during his freedom, (for he was again apprehended), he proceeded to the despatch of business, for he was proved to have written, in the interval, a perfectly sensible letter to a correspondent, and completely to have recovered his reason. His *mania* returned with his reimprisonment ; and, naturally led by the vulgar notion that madness is violence, he behaved furiously, when he thought himself seen, and remarkably so on his trial. It was observed that in an examination which he underwent, not one of his answers would have been given by an insane person. For example, *Q.* Have you ever had any business with Messrs Fellene and Desgranger ? (two of his dupes.) *A.* "I don't know them. *Q.* Do you acknowledge the pretended notorial deed which you gave this witness ? *A.* I don't understand this. *Q.* You acknowledged this deed before the Commissary of Police ? *A.* It is possible. *Q.* Why, on the day of your arrest, did you tear the bill for 3800 francs ? *A.* I don't recollect. *Q.* You stated, in your preceding examination, that it was because the bill had been paid ? *A.* It is possible."—To others of his own previous declarations, the answers were, that he recollected nothing about them. *M.* Esquirol, one of the highest French authorities, was examined, and stated that simulation of madness was easily detected, and that this was a case of it.

We cannot have a more instructive example of the imperfection which yet attaches to this important and interesting subject of judicial practice in our own Courts, than the case of John Howison, lately executed for the murder of Widow Geddes, at King's Cramond. My own humble opinion agrees with that which is now very prevalent, namely, that that wretched man was not a responsible agent : and as I mean very freely to state the grounds of this opinion, for the sake of truth and justice, and with the humble hope of pointing out sounder views for future cases, I beg, once for all, but earnestly, to disclaim all reflections on the prosecution, court, or jury, for their part, in what I con-

sider a painful matter, and to give them that credit which is their due, for having unwillingly but conscientiously drawn conclusions, which the degree of light that has *yet* entered Courts of Law, and even generally guides medical practice, appeared, to them to permit.

John Howison entered the cottage of an aged woman, whose good dispositions were proved by her popularity with her neighbours, and without any motive that appeared, for he took nothing away, in a very short time fled from the house, having first cleft, with the sharp edge of a spade, the head of its defenceless inmate almost in two, the spade having entered in an oblique direction above one eye, and sloped to below the other. The horrible act was proved by the most conclusive evidence; but insanity was pleaded, to account for what it was a moral impossibility that any *sane* human being could, in the circumstances, have perpetrated.

As some evidence was obtained *after* the trial, with which—however it might, and, I humbly think, should have influenced the royal mercy—the jury had nothing to do, I shall first state the substance of the judicial, and then that of the post-judicial, evidence of Howison's insanity. 1. He was proved to have been, what many of the insane are, as has been seen in the cases of Lecouffe, Feldtmann, and Papavoin, and will be seen in several others to be noticed, a solitary, silent, moody, wandering creature, and that *long before* the Cramond murder. His only friends in his lodgings were the cat and a child, and he fed both before eating his own meal. 2. He was miserably superstitious, feared supernatural enemies, and resorted to absurd ceremonies to protect himself against witches, salting his bed and head, wearing about his wrist, or round his neck, a Bible, which he never read, and folded papers attaching to his garments, and to the crown of his head, without which, he often said, he would long ago have been dead. He had a fancy to become a quaker, and attended the meetings of that persuasion some months, where he paid no attention to the worship, but muttered to himself, smelled his Bible, and pricked himself with pins or needles to the effusion of his blood. He demanded instant admission to the society on one occasion, and with

violence. He went more than once to the meeting-house early in the morning, and was seen to kneel, and heard to invoke the Virgin Mary, while he wounded himself on both hands, and smeared the doors with his blood. 3. He had false perceptions, for he used to sit brushing away the flies with his hand for hours together, when there were no flies, and his landlady told him so. He had struggles in the night with witches, and was sometimes noisy, and heard to cry out "*haud aff.*" 4. He had an almost incredible appetite for food, usually devouring half a peck of potatoes at a meal, with one or two pounds of a bullock's liver, almost raw, and generally filthy, for he would never allow it to be cleaned. Immediately after this gross repast, he drank a quantity of coffee, and eat twopence or threepence worth of bread! He sometimes saved a few of his potatoes, and took them to bed with him to be eaten in the night. He *habitually* wounded his hands, wrists and arms with needles or pins, and if he went to bed without his weapons, he rose and came for them. The blood sometimes flowed copiously, dropping from his elbows when his arms were bare, and in this state he has sallied out into the lane where he lodged, brandishing a stick, and playing extravagant tricks, till the neighbours interfered and got the "daft creature," as they called him, taken care of. When asked why he ate his meat so raw and dirty, he said *he liked the blood*, and the meat with the *suction* in it. He farther sucked the blood from his own wrist, after every two or three mouthfuls of his food. Lastly, his landlady had known him some years before, when there was nothing in his appearance or manner differing from other men; but when he came to her house, a few months before the murder, he was so much *altered* in appearance and manner, and so squalid, dirty, and ragged, that she did not know him till he had been twenty-four hours in the house.

For a fortnight before the fatal act, Howison appears to have been wandering about the country, and no evidence of his state of mind during that period was obtained *before* the trial. The facts at Cramond were, that he entered the village with a black handkerchief covering the lower part of his face (which was other-

wise proved to have been long his practice, and, therefore, nothing was founded upon it as a concealment) a stick in his hand, and a book hanging from his wrist. He asked alms from several persons in the row of houses, without success; was seen to enter Widow Geddes's cottage, and in a very brief space to come out hurriedly, shut the door after him, and run from the village, quickening his pace when he thought himself observed. One witness heard the sound of a blow, which he called *a chap*, to come from the cottage, when Howison was in it, and the moment before he came out. He was apprehended next morning some miles from King's Cramond; was quite composed, denied all knowledge of the murder, and even of having been at King's Cramond the day before. In this denial he persisted to the last, making one uniform answer, both before and after his trial, "*Nobody saw me do it.*"

Upon these *indicia* the medical witnesses were called to give their opinions on the important question of the prisoner's sanity *. Dr Spens and Mr Watson were examined on the part of the prosecution. They were also called for the prisoner, who besides adduced Drs Mackintosh, John Scott, and W. P. Alison.

"MR ALEXANDER WATSON, surgeon, as a witness for the prosecution, reads and depones to a report on the body. Saw prisoner; he answered questions correctly, and with consideration. Seemed to witness of sound mind, but of low and weak intellect, but shewed no indication of insanity. His reason was, that on taxing the prisoner with the crime, he denied it, and said he knew nothing about it, which, if he is guilty, witness would consider an indication to sanity. Has had occasion to see a great variety of insane patients. Prisoner told him the pricking of his hands was for a complaint in his head; he said *there was occasionally pain and uneasy feeling in his head*. Witness examined his head; saw nothing wrong; saw the prisoner prick his hands with a pin or needle.

* The medical gentlemen were not permitted to remain in Court to hear the evidence for the prosecution, a course for which I am unable to conjecture a reason. The facts were read to each by the presiding Judge, from his notes. The medical evidence given *here* is printed from very accurate notes, taken by Mr Dun, W.S. the agent for the prisoner.

“ *Cross-examined.*—*There was no appearance whatever of the prisoner’s simulating insanity.* Thinks if he were guilty and insane, he would have confessed.”

“ Dr SPENS, as a witness for the prosecution. Certificate of prisoner being fit for judicial examination. *Saw* no insanity nor idiotism. Prisoner did not appear of a particularly low class of intellect : has seen him *for the last three days*, for the purpose of ascertaining his sanity.”

Medical Evidence for the Prisoner.

“ Dr JOHN MACKINTOSH.—From the evidence he has heard read, said there are so many shades of insanity that a medical man is diffculted before a jury. What common people would call insanity, he might call sanity. As a medical witness he must look at all the facts. From all the peculiarities (details them), and, above all, wishing to change his religion, would have considerable doubts of such a man’s sanity, supposing he had never seen the man. But supposing he had seen him, as he had seen the prisoner, and watched the motion of his eyes, as he has done, he is still more inclined to say, such a person ought not to be allowed to go at large, and is dangerous to others. From his experience of diseases of the mind, thinks such a person *could not be depended upon any one moment.* Has seen a good deal of insanity, and has attended minutely to every case which he has seen, and finds a great number of shades of the disease ; and from what he has seen of common people, they sometimes think a man in a delirium is mad, while at other times, what a medical man would confine a person for, they consider only silly or foolish. Sometimes the imagination only is disordered, while the reason may remain sound. Sometimes the moral feelings are deranged, and a man is inclined to *change his religion*, and this is a *very common* occurrence when a man is labouring under mental disease. Disorder in his mind makes him have this tendency, but the change does not *make* him mad. Sometimes one feeling is deranged, sometimes more. Perceptions may be diseased in another, and reason is embarrassed

when one or more of these is deranged ; when several of these concur, he does not consider such a man to be safely at large. Always looks at *adequate motive*, along with other things, to enable him to judge of the sanity or insanity of an act. *Decidedly* in this case it was *the effect of a morbid state of the mind*, while an ordinary observer could not tell any particular marks of insanity. Has repeatedly seen people who were absolutely insane in conduct, sensible in conversation and writing: *Folie raisonnante*. Has been in the profession for twenty-five years, and has been in the way of studying mental disease. Has written and lectured on insanity.

“ *Cross-examined by SOLICITOR-GENERAL.*—Does not think much of the prisoner’s attachment to the cat by itself. Has frequently seen insane persons fondest of children. Change of religion a symptom taken with others. Inadequate motive a strong point. Thinks reason occasionally diseased, but not nearly so often as feelings. Is firmly of opinion that at times pannel did not know moral right from wrong. As to his running away, witness has known as strong cases of flight and concealment in the insane.

“ *Dr JOHN SCOTT.*—Since 1813 in practice. Has paid considerable attention to insanity. Feels difficulty in this case. Considers that no direct act of insanity has been proved ; but, taking all the circumstances together, his opinion is, that pannel is of a weak and unsound mind. Believes there are cases when persons insane in action who are invariably sensible in conversation. *Knows that in authors on insanity there is recognised a sudden morbid impulse to commit murder.* Most frequently some motive is imagined ; but there are some cases where no possible motive could be imagined. Knows cases where the murderer has been aware that murder is a crime, and has warned those about him to take themselves out of the way. Even when perceptions of right and wrong are not indicated, this occurs. Esquirol is considered a great authority. A patient may be possessed of the homicidal monomania, without any morbid appearance. Mothers destroying their children, and feeling inclinations to do so. Pinel, also

a great authority, believes he was the first who described this impulse accurately. Georget, a high authority, states the same. It is now admitted generally by the profession. His opinion is founded on the whole case. He never spoke to the prisoner. Has seen nothing which makes him think pannel does not know right from wrong, and was likely to cut off a man's head without knowing he was doing wrong. An insane man generally confesses, but would not infer either sanity or insanity from the running away, concealment, &c. A patient may commit murder, and immediately afterwards consciousness return. But we must always have some other proof of insanity. If the person was under restraint, he thinks he would know his situation and be cautious, and he the witness would place no confidence in the opinion of a medical man who had visited him so. Thinks his *looks* are more cunning than insane. Cunning is very common with the insane, and they can contrive ingenious schemes."

Dr THOMAS SPENS.—"Does not think conversation with a person, in confinement, without knowing something of his previous history, would enable one *altogether* to form an opinion on insanity. Confinement modifies symptoms—change from full to spare diet. There are cases of insanity where it cannot be detected in conversation. The prisoner seems to have laboured under a *degree of mental derangement* while at Mrs Crombie's. *Thinks he convalesced before the murder. Knows there are cases of sudden impulse leading to murder, the person very soon after becoming sensible that he had done wrong. Cunning is not absolutely exclusive of insanity. Absence of motive* is an important consideration. Wandering about the country is not favourable to convalescence. Knows no case of such an instantaneous recovery as half a minute. Never saw any thing about prisoner's eyes like madness."

Mr WATSON, Surgeon.—"Taking all circumstances into consideration, thinks that there has been no evidence of the prisoner's insanity at the time of the murder, and immediately after it. There are *slight indications of insanity at a previous period, i. e.* when he

was at Mrs Crombie's. But he was not in a state of *decided insanity*. Thinks his mind was in such a state *that he was not to be depended upon.*"

Dr W. P. ALISON.—“ Thinks it an exceedingly nice case, and difficult to say what was the state of the pannel's mind. There is *no appearance of his having simulated madness or assumed any fictitious character*. Thinks there is evidence that he was of *unsound mind* in several respects previously. There are cases of partial insanity, there are also cases of *morbid determination to acts of violence, in persons otherwise partially insane*. This may co-exist with consciousness of crime. It is a hallucination which believes what is only imagined. There is no evidence whether or not this was the case with the prisoner at the time of the murder, but thinks it *likely, from his previous conduct, that such a delusion may have existed*. Does not consider his conduct afterwards any evidence that he did not labour under some delusion at the time he committed the act. Speaks from general knowledge of partial insanity. There are cases where *madmen are very cunning in screening themselves from the consequences of such a crime*. He was struck with the circumstance of the prisoner's committing a murder with a Bible tied round his wrist, and with his ceremonies against the witches. May possibly have imagined the deceased a witch. Interrogated, Suppose an act committed under a delusion, will no statement be made by criminal in reference to such delusion? Thinks it quite possible, and that he might afterwards conceal it. Has seen patients who have laboured, to his knowledge, under delusion, and all his exertions could not induce them to let out any thing in reference to it. *The concealment and denial are quite consistent with insanity.*”

There are three motives which lead the sane to murder; revenge, cupidity, or precaution. None of these could impel the unhappy Howison. The existence of the old woman was unknown to him till the moment of the murder;—he took nothing from the house, although there was money open in a cup;—and he had no

thing to conceal by the woman's death, *previous* to inflicting it upon her.

The Court and Jury held that John Howison was a responsible agent, and he was condemned to death. In the argument against him, the *possibility* of a sudden resentment on being refused charity, was held to furnish motive for the slaughter, dreadful as it was ;—in other words, that a helpless unoffending aged woman had the power, either by refusing him alms, or in any other manner or way whatever, in one half minute, to provoke a sane man to such a pitch of fury as to lead him to glut his vengeance by cleaving her head in two. The *homocidal monomania*, as a specific insanity, probably for the first time pleaded in a British Court of Law, though now more familiar to the French tribunals, was, as might be expected with the present lights, treated as a groundless theory.

With due deference to the verdict of a British Jury, I cannot help observing that, on the indicia actually proved, and held of themselves to amount to disease of mind by all the medical witnesses, even without the probabilities which were added by several of them, especially Dr Alison, of the existence of decided dangerous madness, there were grounds, on Baron Hume's view of such questions, for a recommendation to mercy. Juries take this course in much weaker cases ; we hear of it every day on account of youth, seduction by the more guilty, and even strong provocation. Had Howison's act been less horrible, had it chanced, that, instead of dashing out the brains of a helpless aged woman, he had only made an assault on a stout man, to the effusion of his blood ; and moreover, had any medical man whatever *previously* given a certificate, as ought to have been done, that he was or might be dangerous, on which he had been *de facto* shut up for a season, no one, we take it, will doubt that his state of mind, as actually proved, would have moved the Jury to recommend him to mercy.

Application was made, without success, to the Secretary of State by Howison's law agent, for time to obtain further evidence of his insanity. To this that gentleman was emboldened by receiv-

ing the concurring opinion of several of the first medical men in Edinburgh, who had not been cited, that even the evidence adduced on the trial was sufficient ; but that, when several post-judicial facts were added, there could be no doubt that the unhappy man was not a fit subject for punishment. These last mentioned facts were, first,—That some time before his appearance at King's Cramond, Howison, on being refused alms by a gentleman near Edinburgh, to whose house he came, made a savage assault upon him (for his muscular strength was very great, often the case with maniacs), seized him by the scrotum, and kept his hold till the gentleman had nearly fainted. His whole demeanour was frightfully ferocious, and he was knocked down by one of the farm servants before he quitted his grasp. When delivered from his great peril, the gentleman soothed his assailant, gave him food, and sent him quietly away. Again, a gentleman of Dundee, made affidavit that he was one of the directors of the Lunatic Asylum in that town, and accustomed to observe insanity. That being in Edinburgh a short time before the Cramond murder, he chanced to go one day to witness the mode of worship at the Quakers' meeting, his wife and daughter being with him. Near the place, he saw Howison on the street in a mood so excited, violent and threatening, that he looked about for aid from the police, in the event, which he almost expected, of an attack or an outrage ; and expressed his surprise that so dangerous a person was not taken care of. This affidavit was transmitted to the Secretary of State*.

These were the additional facts which, had they been permitted to be brought forward, although too late to prevent the sentence, might have prevented the execution. The Society of Friends petitioned the King ; but mercy, *and even further inquiry*, were refused.

The closing scene of all, afforded a powerful confirmation of the sounder opinion that this unhappy man was insane. He *confessed*, the night before his execution, *eight murders*, not one of

* Since Howison's execution, several persons have come forward who knew him long, and never doubted of his derangement.

which had ever been heard of, or could have occurred unknown. It cannot be doubted that this was the bloody dream of a homicidal monomaniac. At parting with the deputy-governor of the jail, he avowed that he felt at that moment a strong impulse to murder him, and he had been most kind to him ; while in the same breath, he inveighed against his lawyers for not resting his defence on the defective evidence, as *he* viewed it, of the murder, but pleading that he was mad, which, as he alleged, was utterly untrue *. His voracious appetite for food ceased only with his breath.

The ground upon which Howison's plea of insanity failed, no doubt, was that he did not prove insanity *enough* ;—that, at the most, he had proved what Baron Hume holds insufficient, namely, eccentricity, a crazy or irregular temper—in a word, only partial derangement.

It is here the judicial practice requires revision. If it be true, that there is none of the phenomena of yet imperfectly understood human nature, over which hangs a thicker veil, to the general eye, than the phenomena of mental aberration, what are we to think of making distinctions, as if all were clear, between *partial* and *total* insanity, and drawing the line of responsibility with perfect confidence ! It is humbly but earnestly suggested, that, instead of deciding for responsibility in partial insanity, it is both more just and more merciful to doubt as to that essential, WHEN DISEASE OF MIND TO A PALPABLE AND CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT IS PROVED. It is more just and more merciful, in such a case, to take care of the accused and of society by his confinement, than to run the risk of putting to death an irresponsible agent. Insanity, as far as we have the means of perceiving, is a

* It is proper here to observe, that the legal defenders of Howison had his sanction for their line of defence. He said, in substance, “do as you like.” But supposing, as often happens, that a palpably insane person asserts his sanity and disclaims the plea of insanity, it is nevertheless his counsel's duty to make the Court aware of the state of the prisoner's mind, and to be prepared with evidence, which it is *pars judicis* call for, if the criminal fact shall be proved.

bodily disease ; in other words, its visible and invariable condition is a morbid action of the brain, either structural or functional. A definition of the effect, in feeling and manifestation, of a diseased brain, which shall be sufficiently comprehensive to include all the varieties of insane affection, is scarcely to be looked for ; yet definitions are constantly sought after in courts of law, and the whole value of a witness's evidence is often made to turn on its relation to a standard, which is in itself the merest assumption. It would be a safer rule for courts of law*, to direct their attention to the proof generally of diseased manifestations of the intellect or feelings ; and when these are undoubted, as in Howison's case, to presume irresponsibility, because the contrary cannot be made sure of, and the balance of probability is greatly on the side of irresponsibility. If mercy, as we have said, is often extended to youth, to seduction, even to great provocation, how much more ought it to shelter disease of mind when clearly established ? If it be true, and no physician denies it, that to diseases, especially of the inflammatory class, it is impossible to prescribe limits, or to predict that new and aggravated symptoms shall not suddenly follow in the course of the diseased action ; is it not presuming too much to decide, that inflammation of the brain, a usual cause of insanity, has known boundaries, and shall not suddenly extend from partial to produce total insanity ? We feel assured that no one conversant with insanity will deny the fact, that the insane, however partially, are not safe from sudden paroxysms and aggravation of symptoms.

In Howison's case, all the five medical witnesses SWEAR TO DISEASE OF MIND ; even Dr Spens and Mr Watson admit this,—the latter adding, that the prisoner's mind was in such a state, *that he was not to be depended upon*. This is another mode of expression for asserting that the disease proved to exist might increase, and the patient become unsafe and irresponsible. This is well brought out in Dr Andrew Combe's late work on insanity,

* We mean criminal courts, for the inquiry as affecting civil rights and capabilities, where punishment—capital punishment—is not impending, may and must be tried like other civil questions, by nicer scales.

page 23. "In civil and in criminal trials, physicians have been called in to fix the line of demarcation between insanity and the minor forms of mental disease; but in practice the attempt has never been attended with great success. If the principles we have been advocating be true, this must ever continue to be the case. In no organ of the body, however intimately we may be acquainted with its structure and functions, can we always chalk out a marked line of distinction between the various affections to which it is liable. The slightest kinds run by such imperceptible degrees into the more permanent and severe, that we are daily unable to determine the point at which the malady stands, and it is often by the event alone, that we are enabled to form an accurate opinion. Many cases are, no doubt, so unequivocally marked, that we have no hesitation in determining the extent and nature of the disease. But it is not always an easy matter. For, at one time, an affection apparently of a trivial kind suddenly assumes the destructive energy of a deadly disease." The brain being a constituent part of an organized frame, and subjected to all the laws of animal life, exactly as the other parts of the system are, its morbid affections present precisely the same characteristics, modified of course by its peculiarity of structure and function, and it is very important, for the proper understanding of its diseases, that this analogy should be kept in view." After enumerating several examples of change in the symptoms of mental derangement, the author says, "A fifth (individual) may, under strong excitement, give way to manifestations of passion and singularities of thought, which we are accustomed to meet with only in insanity, and yet recover himself when the cause has ceased to operate; or if he be highly predisposed, and the excitement have been very powerful, he may make a sudden transition from perfect health of mind to decided madness. *But no one can pretend to point out the exact line at which the one of these states merges into the other.*" This shews the dangerous error of the notion, that there is no madness liable to sudden paroxysms, unless violence is habitually or very frequently present. The celebrated Pinel, who was chief physician to the Salpêtrière, the

greatest hospital for the insane in the world, gives many examples of dangerous insanity co-existing with a calm and rational exterior, and in which the patient is the very reverse of a free and responsible agent. He mentions an instance of a *rational* madman liberated, *on his own shewing*, by a band of revolutionists in 1792, who came to *judge* who were properly confined in the different madhouses in Paris. Their protégé soon shewed them their error for, excited by the scene, he seized one of their sabres, and, striking at all about him, wounded a number of his very deliverers, who were glad to take him back to his cell.

Howison was proved to have exhibited, what is almost invariable in insanity, a complete change of character from his former self—a great deterioration in appearance, manners, and habits. He was farther proved to have several peculiar habits and practices, each recognised as a specific madness. 1. He had an almost incredible appetite for food. Of this many instances in the insane could be furnished, some cases manifesting no other symptom. The sight of food renders them furious; they will dispute it with the dogs and the swine; they gorge the stomach beyond all powers of digestion, calling incessantly for more, and thereby injure all the other functions, including those of the brain itself. A man was taken into the Infirmary of Edinburgh in December 1830, raving mad for food, his stomach being distended with the quantity he had eaten, nevertheless his only cry was, “hunger, hunger, hunger!” Starvation has often *produced* insanity in those previously sane, as is well known in shipwrecks, and as was tremendously exemplified in that of the *Medusa* French frigate. With his morbid calls for food, it is quite conceivable, that Howison might be excited to a high pitch of destructive mania, by a few hours’ want. 2. He ate animal food in large quantity almost raw, delighting in the blood which came from it. This, too, is a well-marked symptom of insanity. A shocking case of literal appetite for blood occurred at Paris in 1823. Antoine Leger was from his youth, sombre, ferocious, and solitary. He fled the society of women, and of boys of his own age. Wandering in a wood for days together, and living on wild fruits, he caught a rab-

bit, killed it, and devoured it raw. He was seized with a horrible desire to eat human flesh, and drink the blood. On the 10th of August he saw a little girl, and running to her, passed a handkerchief round her body, threw her on his back, rushed into the wood, and murdered her. He avowed the fact to the minutest particular, and produced proofs against himself. He stated that, having opened the body of his victim, and seeing the blood flow in abundance, he slaked with it his thirst, and, "hurried on by the malign influence that controlled me," he said, I went the length of sucking the heart." He was calm, rational, and even indifferent at his trial, and was given over to the executioner, a sacrifice to the ignorance of his judges, who could see nothing in him but the most atrocious criminal. 3. Howison, like maniacs well known in madhouses, was almost without ceasing, night and day, wounding himself to the effusion of his blood; he marked the chapel door-posts with it; he exhibited it dropping from his elbows; and he sucked it as he ate his meals. 4. He was solitary, silent, and sombre, like Lecouffe, Feldtman, Papavoin, and Leger, and a whole class of madmen. Indeed, he was so uncommunicative, that his counsel could not draw from him one word of his history or connections, in order to enlarge the evidence of his insane habits. Lastly, he was under the influence of superstitious horrors, and kept off the supernatural evils he dreaded by strange ceremonies, and above all, by the fancied protection of the Bible tied round his wrist, which it was proved he never read, and, when removed at his meals, placed round his neck, so as never to quit his person. This circumstance struck Dr Alison as an insane accompaniment of a murder.

Now, this is just the character of insanity, which, often by a sudden and uncontrollable impulse, sheds blood and takes life. This impulse itself is a specific monomania, which the French physicians, who have seen it oftenest, denominate *monomanie homicide*. All the medical witnesses, including the two who did not consider Howison irresponsible, were in the knowledge that there is a specific madness of this fearful character. Nothing more important has been determined by the more enlightened views of

insanity which are beginning to prevail, than the existence and nature of distinctive monomanias, in which the patient is insane only on feelings or ideas related to one of the mental powers, and remains sound as to the objects and functions of all his other faculties. Diseased pride, for example, is a monomania, and fills the mad-houses, often more than any other diseased feeling, with great lords, kings, and emperors, most of whom are sane on every other point ; and even, in their peculiar disease, from the erroneous premises of their supposed condition reason correctly. When the monomania of pride takes a religious turn, the patient believes himself inspired, and sometimes even the Supreme Being. Of twenty-two patients presented to a gentleman who lately visited the great Richmond Lunatic Asylum of Dublin, eleven were insane on pride ; some of these with religious feelings believed themselves God, Jesus Christ, or inspired by them ; whilst others, without religious feelings, were kings and emperors. Many of the same patients were violent and destructive ; and several others had no symptoms but an impulse to tear and destroy every thing upon which they could lay their hands. Such patients are the most dangerous of any, as they invariably murder if they are not under restraint.

Murder committed under such an unhappy influence is not a crime but a symptom of insanity. Dr Marechal, in the Archives Generales de Medecine, vol. xii., instances the deplorable case of a lady, who, after having nursed her infant for three months, suddenly became sad and taciturn, and much addicted to tears. One day sitting near the fire, she exclaimed with eagerness and agony, "*Snatch the child from me, or I will throw it into the flames.*" She then confessed that, for a long time, she had been struggling against an almost irresistible impulse to destroy the child, and that on approaching a window or fire the desire always returned. She became melancholy, *lamented her unhappy propensity*, and attempted suicide. Her reason was perfect, and she was inspired with horror at herself. Of course, from the state of light generally prevailing on the subject, had she killed her child she would have been held responsible, *because of her reason and remorse*,

and condemned to death, instead of being put under treatment as a lunatic.

Dr Otto of Copenhagen has lately communicated a striking instance of *motiveless* destruction, perpetrated under the influence of this dreadful disease, where all the feelings which should lead the unhappy patient to stay his hand, were, at the same time, in full activity. Peter Nielsen, the father of seven children, *was seized with a desire, which he felt he could not resist*, to destroy four of his children, whom, nevertheless, he tenderly loved. He took them to a turf-pit, and, after passionately embracing them, pushed them all into the water, and remained till he saw them drowned. When they were taken out he kissed them again, and returned quietly to the town, in the same cart which brought back their dead bodies. He made no attempt to fly; but Dr Otto omits to say what criminal result followed. Dr Otto furnishes another instance of this sudden propensity to murder. Frederick Jensen lost his health of mind, in consequence of the death of a beloved daughter; and, soon after, when one day walking with his son, a boy of ten years of age, was seized, as he related, with a strange confusion, "*so that it appeared to him like a matter of absolute necessity to drown the boy and himself;*" and, quite unconscious of what he was doing, he ran to the water with the boy in his hand. A person passing interfered, and took the child from him; but he threw himself into the water, from which he was rescued, and, by proper treatment, restored to health of mind. He subsequently told the whole event with tranquillity, but could give no reason for the sudden desire to destroy his child and himself. A case closely resembling this, but with the unhappy difference, that the dreadful deed was done, occurred in November last in the vicinity of Edinburgh. The maniac was George Waters, who destroyed a boy, his own son, without motive or end, and threw the body into a ditch. On proof of previous derangement, he was ordered into confinement.

I could adduce many authorities, entitled to the highest respect from their known experience and eminence, both on the Continent and at home, that the *homicidal monomania* is often a

sudden and irresistible impulse. Pinel, Broussais, Georget, Esquirol, and Spurzheim, in France,—and Burrows, Conolly and Combe, in this country, are all agreed on the existence and nature of this most dangerous insanity.

Broussais has a chapter on this subject in his work, *De l'Irritation et de la Folie*, page 361. "There result," says he, "from this perversion of feeling, cruelty, pleasure in destroying, an impulse condemned even by the patient who is under its influence. This perversion, and that of suicide, are often found together. The unfortunate patients often find pretexts to justify their atrocities. Sometimes it is a voice which commands the slaughter ; sometimes God himself ; some have a mission from heaven to save men by the baptism of blood ; others think they secure the salvation of their children, or make them angels by putting them to death."

Georget, also a high medical officer in the Salpêtrière, is familiar with the "*monomanie meurtrière*." "It consists in a propensity to ferocity, in a desire, in a *necessity* to destroy life, "even human life, without motive." Georget's work *De la Folie*, p. 110.

Pinel, the highest French authority, among other instances, mentions a patient in the Bicêtre, who was brought to that great lunatic hospital, in consequence of a sudden fit having seized him in his own house, when he warned his wife, whom he loved, to fly from him, to avoid instant death. In the Bicêtre, when the fit came on, he seized any sharp instrument, and would, unless prevented, have sacrificed any one near him. The superintendent, whom he at other times loaded with acknowledgments for his kindness, was especially the object of his sanguinary threats ; and he would have destroyed himself if permitted, an act which he had once nearly accomplished with a shoemaker's knife, having been secured, after giving himself a deep wound. "He enjoys," says Pinel, "in other respects perfect exercise of reason ; even during his paroxysms he answers questions, and lets slip no incoherences or signs of delirium : he even feels all the horror of his situation, and is penetrated with remorse, as if he had himself

to reproach for his dreadful propensity."—*Traité sur l'Alienation Mentale*, p. 158.

M. Georget devotes a small volume to the subject, and furnishes many examples. A woman of the name of Ny consulted him, in October 1826, evidently healthy and rational, whose irresistible propensity was to murder her children. She abhorred herself for the feeling, avoided windows and sharp weapons, often fled the house, &c. By proper medical treatment this woman was cured. "Suppose," says M. Georget, "a little increase of intensity in that involuntary impulse, and the woman Ny would have committed, against her nature, the most horrible of crimes."

M. Esquirol, the pupil of Pinel, wrote a treatise on the subject, in which he furnishes many instances. One lunatic suddenly rose upon his fellow patients in the hospital, murdered two, and was proceeding, as he said, to baptise them all in blood, when he was mastered and secured. He had before murdered his own children for the same end, and attempted to kill his wife. A woman returned from a fanatical sermon, and murdered her child to make it an angel. A Prussian peasant believed himself commanded by an angel from heaven to sacrifice his only son on an altar. He bound him accordingly, and immolated him. M. N., a patient at Charenton, was melancholy, sad, and silent, and believed harmless, till suddenly he sprung upon one of his neighbours, struck him with the heaviest article on which he could lay hands, and attempted to murder him, after which he sunk again into silence and melancholy. Another exactly similar instance occurred, the weapon being a full bottle. An insane was dismissed cured, as was believed, who next day murdered his wife and sister-in-law. A young married lady was suddenly seized with an irresistible desire to murder her two infant children; she loved and embraced, yet longed to strangle them. On one occasion one of her children came into the room where she herself was alone; she immediately gave the alarm, and had the child removed. She was secluded for some months, and on her return was not allowed to see her children, although she inquired affectionately for them.

When it was proposed to bring them home, her countenance altered in such a way as to convince her husband that it was not yet time. Several months more were allowed to elapse, after which her children were brought back, and she ever after manifested towards them the truest maternal tenderness. Another example of the same kind. In this was the singular mixture of the embraces of passionate affection and the propensity to strangle the child, with several attempts at suicide, because of the unhappy propensity. Several other examples follow of unhappy mothers with the impulse to destroy their children. One of a nursery maid, in the family of Baron Humboldt, who found that she never undressed a child under her charge without a wish to kill it. She fortunately avowed the propensity, and was taken care of. A young lady came regularly, when she felt the appetite for murder coming on, and had herself secured in a strait-waistcoat till the fit was past. A gentleman in the same circumstances felt himself sufficiently restrained by having his thumbs tied together with a piece of ribbon.

M. N. was silent and solitary, but reasonable, and confessed a desire to shed blood, and particularly that of his mother and sister by the poniard. He, too, deplored the dreadful tendency, for he loved his mother and sister tenderly. Yet the fit returned, and he cried out, "Mother, save yourself, or I will cut your throat." One day in the street he met a Swiss soldier, a stranger to him, whose sabre he attempted to seize, to murder him with it.

Madame C. G., a young married woman, was suddenly seized with a desire to kill, and had reason and feeling enough to deplore the propensity; but the more she resisted it, the more strong it became.

Madame G. was seized with the murderous fit at table, and took up a knife to indulge the desire, when she was secured and disarmed. A young woman of the name of Henriette Cornier, murdered her infant in a fit of insanity, and cut off its head. The affair made a great noise in France; and the same thing was done by a number of other monomaniacs mentioned by M. Es-

quirol *; but as they are all to the same purpose, they need not be enumerated here. One woman said that something pushed her on by the shoulders to murder. A number of similar cases were communicated from Germany, by different medical men, to M. Esquirol.

The existence as a specific madness of the homicidal monomania, like other new truths, has been vigorously controverted in France. A whole volume has been written against it, as a doctrine full of danger, by an advocate of the name of Regnault. It is a conceited, irrelevant, unphilosophical rhapsody, and does nothing to shake the mass of facts on which the doctrine is built.

Hoffbaur is the greatest German authority, and was translated into French in 1829, by Chambeyron. He advocates the doctrine of homicidal monomania, and furnishes many cases.

Till the very recent appearance of Drs Burrows and Conolly (the latter professor of medicine in the University of London) as writers on insanity,—and their works are of the highest authority,—no British writer took prominent notice of the homicidal monomania. Dr Combe also describes, and satisfactorily accounts for, this form of mental disease. Willis, Haslam, and others, cite cases of patients murdering, if not restrained, as a mere effect of excited maniacal rage; but none of these have mentioned the existence of sudden irresistible propensity to shed blood as a specific monomania.

Dr Burrows gives some cases of persons committing murder, in order that they themselves might suffer death,—suicide by crime. A schoolmaster at New York reasoned on the subject, and on the idea that infancy has a “guarantee of eternal beatification,” took a gun and shot a child only three years of age, and afterwards went and voluntarily delivered himself into the hands of justice, p. 436.

Dr Burrows, p. 437, speaks of persons destroying themselves

* The numerous murders which often follow each other about the same time, cannot have escaped observation. They are almost always the work of monomaniacs, excited by the narratives that are necessarily made public. Georget and Delaplace make this observation.

upon returning from the funerals of friends, who had committed suicide ; and says, “ we often hear of such acts committed *instantly* by low and illiterate people, who appear so to have done on the most trivial motives.”

Same page. “ Many instances occur in modern history of propensities to homicide and infanticide, as well as to suicide, which appear to result from no other cause than the force of example.”

Ibid. “ In a late sitting of the French Academy of Medicine, several examples were reported by MM. Barbier, Mare, Briche-teau, Esquirol, Villerine, Ballis, and Costel, completely establishing this fact.” Reference is made to Esquirol, in *Medico-Chir. Jour.* vol. ix. p. 226, as mentioning “ six cases occurring of persons being seized with the propensity to destroy their children, since the trial of Madame Cornier for that crime.” Costel gives a still more remarkable illustration. “ A soldier having hung himself on a post, his example was followed in a very short time by twelve other invalid soldiers ; when the post was removed, this suicidal epidemic ceased.”

Various other examples, page 438, &c., as among the British soldiers at Malta, a few years after it was taken possession of. The women of Lyons were seized with a propensity to suicide, by throwing themselves down the wells of that city. 1300 people destroyed themselves at Versailles in 1793 ; and in Rouen, in 1806, epidemic suicide prevailed during June and July. Burrows speaks of “ national taste” as to the mode ; “ the English prefer shooting, the Prussians hanging, while the French, fond of effect in all things, shew it even in this last act, and prefer making an exit from some elevated or conspicuous place, such as a high column, monument, or bridge, the time mid-day, and in the presence of a multitude. This is the *ne plus ultra*, and gives great eclat to the character of the suicide.”

He proceeds. “ Even murderers have their peculiar tastes in executing their dreadful deeds. The atrocious Williamson attacked unsuspecting and defenceless persons in the dead of the night, and beat out their brains with a poker or bill-hook. The murders of Mr and Mrs Bonar, of Mr Perkins and his house-

keeper, of Mr Parker and his housekeeper, and of various others which have followed in rapid succession, were all perpetrated, and by different persons, under circumstances very analogous, and with similar implements."

Dr Conolly says, p. 338, "In this intellectual disorder, lunatics have committed atrocious crimes, feeling remorse even whilst committing them ; and others, fearing death from poison or from natural causes, have committed suicide ; whilst some, like the idiot mentioned by Dr Gall, have delighted in setting fire to houses, and have been seen to be equally glad to extinguish the fire when lighted. Assuredly it is no inconsiderable fact in support of the opinion of the propensities being located in different portions of the nervous substance, that we find individuals, not remarkable for inhumanity, seized with a sudden desire to murder and destroy. If, in some instances, we explain the propensity by the supposition of a morbid impression of a nature to excite revenge, we see other instances in which it is indulged without any such object ; and man and woman have cruelly murdered their relations, or even their own children, apparently impelled to such frightful crimes by a physical excitement, which was not extended to other propensities. The excitement is so strong as to exclude every opposing emotion, and to prevent the exercise of either the attention or memory ; and no comparison is made : the whole man is denominated by one morbid feeling. The degree to which this feeling admits of resistance is often a very important question, inasmuch as it affects the responsibility of such individuals for the crimes which they commit. It appears in some cases, to be as little within the control of the patient, as the muscular movements are in a fit of hysteria or epilepsy," &c. &c.

From those who justify Howison's condemnation, I expect this answer to all that has been said, on the homicidal monomania, namely, that it is one thing to establish, as it probably may come to be granted has been done, that there is such an impulse, and another to show that Howison was actually possessed with it, when he clove in two the aged head of widow Geddes. Now, I concede at once that there is no direct and complete evidence that

Howison was a homicidal monomaniac at that dreadful moment, as there would have been had the act been witnessed to have taken place without any or adequate provocation. All I contend for is, that, the impulse often coming on suddenly und irresistibly, the circumstances render it so probable, as Dr Alison said, that in Howison's case it did so, as to have made the consignment of the wretched man to a mad-house, in every view, the safer, the juster, and more expedient course to have followed. With all his previous superstitions, voracious, ferocious, and bloody habits, which every one conversant with insanity knows were just such impulses as might in a moment pass into homicidal mania,—to say nothing of his ferocious attack on the gentleman near Edinburgh, and the scene witnessed by the Dundee gentleman some time before,—Howison enters the cottage of a harmless old woman whom he had never seen, and in less time than a word of provocation could pass, and without assignable motive, beats out her brains. No one saw the degree of provocation, it is true; but no one can believe in the possibility of adequate provocation to such an act, in the circumstances, at all. The post-judicial evidence did not come out on the trial; but it was offered to the Secretary of State; and it is never too late to make farther inquiry which shall save the life of a wretched lunatic.

It seems unnecessary to go into the argument founded on the allegation that Howison was intelligent,—that he fled with precipitation from the scene of his crimes, and steadily denied it to the moment of his death,—in a word, manifested “method in his madness.” I refer to the evidence of Dr Alison on this point, and that of Drs Macintosh and Scott, as at least of equal weight with that of Mr Watson, who, because of the frequency of avowal by the murderous insane, seems to have concluded, that denial of the act is a certain proof of sanity. Pinel gives the name of *folie raisonnée* to madness accompanied with rationality, and even skill in adapting means to end. “Hospitals for the insane,” says he, “are never without some examples of mania, marked by acts of extravagance and even fury, with a kind of judgment preserved in all its integrity, if we judge of it by the conversation;

the lunatic gives the most just and precise answers to the questions of the curious, no incoherence of ideas is discernible; he reads and writes letters, as if his understanding were perfectly sound; and yet, by a singular contrast, he tears in pieces his clothes and bed-covers, and always finds some plausible reason to justify his wandering and his fury." Many instances of this inconsistency might be quoted, and some in which the reasoning is juster and more forcible in the exaltation of the disease than when the patient is in perfect health. Mead, Willis, Haslam, Cox, Burrows, Conolly, and Combe, all concur in this, and agree with the French authorities.

The reader must have observed the accompaniment of calmness, rationality, and even remorse and self-reproach in several of the instances of murder, and attempts to murder, adduced in this paper. There is rationality and a perfect discrimination of right from wrong, not only in the abstract but in the very act, common in many murdering maniacs, which induces them to surrender themselves to justice. Howison fled,—in other words, instantly *after* the act he saw its consequences to himself. Robert Dean knew the consequence, only he courted death, the other feared it. Papavoin, like Howison, fled. In all the three, the murderous paroxysm had ceased; and nothing can be imagined more likely to bring the feelings into a new channel, and that instantaneously,—with all deference to Dr Spens's opinion,—than the spectacle of horror which the patient's own hand has produced*. The patient anticipates the horror, in some cases, and warns the person near him, generally his beloved relatives, to fly, —to snatch away the child, &c. How much more may he not be appalled with the blood when actually shed,—be seized with terror on his own account, fly with precipitation, and deny with obstinacy, consistency, and cunning? Dr Spens said Howison

* A case occurred at Bristol much about the time of Howison's trial. A maniac killed a person on the spot for refusing him a little tobacco. He fled, concealed, and even disguised himself with blacking and soot. When taken, he denied all knowledge of the murder, till brought to the dead body, when he coolly said, "I killed that man because he would not give me some tobacco."

could not have recovered from an insane paroxysm so suddenly, or rather that he, Dr S., never saw an instance of such sudden restoration. So many others, with probably more extensive means of observation, consider an instant change of feeling, by a powerful cause, not only frequent, but almost invariable. The maniac is *always* calm after the slaughter is committed; but Dr Spens assumes that there could not be an instant change of feeling in Howison, and on that assumption concludes, that, in truth, he did not act under a paroxysm of lunacy at all. It is to be feared that this opinion weighed heavily in the adverse scale against this poor maniac. *There is so much evil in the very risk that man's vengeance should follow God's visitation, that all cases of crimes of violence, I repeat, in which previous mental disease is unequivocally proved, should have the whole benefit of the presumption that such disease may in a moment run into irresponsible mania; and the unhappy patient be judged fit for confinement, and not for punishment.*

I cannot withhold an opinion of great good sense on this point, by Dr Haslam, in his treatise on Medical Jurisprudence. After some severe observations on the practice of making a show of bedlam for the vulgar gaze, from which, he says, the idea is impressed even on juries, that "insanity cannot exist without turbulent expression, extravagant gestures, and fantastic decoration," he adds, "When the madman has been tried in a criminal court, the counsel for the prosecution has usually and gravely inquired of the medical evidence, whether the prisoner, on ordinary topics, and on subjects unconnected with his insanity, would not converse in a rational manner; and also, whether he did not possess sufficient *understanding* to discriminate between *good* and *evil*, *right* and *wrong*. When a medical person is employed concerning any one to whom insanity is imputed, his principal inquiry is concerning his *insanity*; it is not his object to ascertain how much *reason* he possesses, but how far, and on what topics, he is insane; and *having gauged his insanity, he has performed his duty*. If it should be presumed that any medical practitioner is able to penetrate into the recesses of a lunatic's mind, at the moment he committed

an outrage, to view the internal play of obtruding thought and contending motives, and to depose that he knew the good and evil, right and wrong, he was about to commit, it must be confessed that such knowledge is beyond the limits of our attainment. *It is sufficient for the medical practitioner to know that the mind is deranged, and that such state of insanity will be sufficient to account for the irregularity of the actions ;* and that, in a sound mind, the same conduct would be deemed criminal. If violence be inflicted by such a person during a paroxysm of rage, there is no acuteness of metaphysical investigation which can trace the succession of his thoughts, and the impulses by which he is goaded to the accomplishment of his purpose."

In proposing confinement instead of capital punishment, I leave much to satisfy those who hold the opinion that the dread of consequences will restrain the maniac or monomaniac, even when the fit is on him. If capital punishment has preventive terrors, so has confinement for life. Nay, I am disposed to think that the latter, if either are contemplated, would have the greater premonitive effect of the two. Death is often courted by the murderous monomaniac. Execution has high excitement for the actual state of his feelings. But the idea of confinement for life is sedative, repulsive to the insane person's hurry of thought, and more likely than the fear of death, to make him reflect and stay his hand if he is not, when in paroxysm, incapable of reflection at all.

The opinion promulgated by the Advocate-General of France in Lecouffe's case is yet greatly too common elsewhere, *that the plea of insanity is dangerous ;* that it leads to encourage simulation, and defraud justice, and therefore ought not to be admitted at all in criminal trials. This, I have said, is not the law of Great Britain, nor is it that of France ; it is only the absurd dogma of the Advocate-General. But although, when stated in the abstract, it is certain of being scouted, yet in the concrete, the opinion has a sort of influence ; so that the proof of insanity (which lies on the accused), instead of being welcomed as it ought to be by our own criminal courts, is almost always, as if it were mere matter of public duty to do so, received with hostility, and stoutly re-lar-

gued. The reason of this is dread that simulated madness will always be resorted to, and public justice set at nought. There will be an end of this fear, when knowledge of the real indicia of mental disease shall extend itself: courts of law, and jurymen themselves, better taught what sane mind really is, will become more familiar with its diseases; and medical men be more worthy of the confidence of courts of law than the great majority of them yet are, while they remain equally uninformed in mental philosophy on the one hand, and the functions of the material organ of the mind, the brain, on the other. I feel assured, that there is not one of the authorities, French or British, whom I have quoted as advocating the truth of homicidal monomania, whom pretended insanity would deceive for one moment. The simulator must have at least *all* their knowledge, and be a consummate actor to boot, not to betray himself to them in many different ways. A simulator, too, who becomes mad for the occasion as a desperate attempt to escape punishment, wants one important branch of evidence, namely, *previous history* in which insanity was manifested, as in Howison's case, without relation to the particular act under trial. There is no feigning past history. But even where there was no previous insanity, the detection of its actual presence, or the exposure of its fraudulent assumption, would be equally easy to those who are in the knowledge of the light which has within these few years been shed on the subject. They, assuredly, would run no risk of making such an exhibition as was made in London by the medical witnesses in the memorable case of Davies the tea-dealer, which elicited one shout of scorn from the whole press of London, and excited a feeling of general surprise all over the country.

An immense advantage, at the very least, will be gained, if a consciousness of want of knowledge shall render criminal tribunals cautious, and diminish the dangerous confidence wherewith they *repel* the plea of insanity, and so often hold the insane to be sane. When the alternative is death or confinement for life, there is no risk of returning upon society a dangerous member, or of the guilty escaping from heavy punishment, even if a mistake

should be committed on the side of mercy. But an error on the other side, the actual execution of the irresponsible, is an unmixed calamity, without one palliating element. When, then, the well-known symptoms of simulation, as Dr Alison and even Mr Watson said was the case with Howison, are absent, and when recognised insanity is present, public justice and expediency, as well as mercy, demand that the scales shall not be made to tremble in nice adjustment, but that a large allowance shall be thrown into that of the accused.

No. III.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE EDINBURGH INFANT SCHOOL SOCIETY.

At a General Meeting of the Edinburgh Infant School Society, held this day (18th May 1832), in the Assembly Rooms, George Street, followed by an Exhibition of the Pupils of the School, ROBERT WARDLAW RAMSAY, Esq. in the Chair, the following REPORT, by the Committee, called the Ordinary Directors, was read.

THE Committee deem it expedient to preface this their First Report, with a short exposition of the principles of this association for the purposes of Infant Education.

First, As it is well known that the Feelings or affections of human nature, in common speech termed the Dispositions, furnish the impulses, according to their direction, to virtue or vice, it is important to address education directly to these feelings, and thereby to combine moral with intellectual training, instead of confining education, as has hitherto almost exclusively been done in Schools, to the latter alone.

Secondly, The Dispositions are capable of great improvement by systematic practical training, brought to bear, by exercise, directly upon themselves ; and positive institutions, founded upon this truth, are as valuable as they are new to society.

Thirdly, The Dispositions are most pliable, and capable of a bent to good in infancy, before bad tendencies are formed, and bad habits are confirmed ; and, therefore, moral training ought to commence with the earliest manifestations of human feeling.

Fourthly, Mere precept will not establish those moral habits which flow from well regulated dispositions ; and although example may do much, it is apt to operate only for a moment, leaving the mind that has been swayed by it still liable to the influence of example in any other direction. PRACTICAL EXERCISE IN MORAL HABITS for the course of time, is an essence of moral training.

To attain this exercise, it is necessary to collect infants in suitable numbers, to form a society of equals, in unrestrained but well observed intercourse, where the selfish feelings may be regulated, and the social strengthened and improved ; in which the *practice* shall be habitual of cleanliness, delicacy, refinement, good temper, gentleness, kindness, honesty, justice, and truth ; confirming good tendencies in the mind, and leading to virtue in the conduct ;—while at the same time the body is strengthened by a judicious use of air and exercise.

Fifthly, In this manner the dispositions are prepared as a soil for the precepts and spirit of Christianity ; and these last judiciously sown, as the foundation of morals, will not, in after life, be listened to merely as abstract ideas on Sundays, with no application to ordinary life, but will be felt as practical laws, regulating every part of everyday conduct.

Lastly, Intellectual training, though of secondary importance in Infant Education, should form, nevertheless, provided it be calculated to interest and amuse, and never to overtask, an important object in an Infant School. For the vigorous development of the faculties,—before they have been wasted on mere letters, words, and signs,—practical lessons on *real objects*, and their relations to each other and to the pupil, constituting real ideas and useful knowledge of common things, should be the main intellectual occupation of Infant Schools ; to which end the objects themselves should be presented, and their nature and qualities explained, while the printed signs or reading will be easily incidentally, and almost insensibly conveyed.

* * * * *

The Committee have much pleasure in reporting, that the progress of the School, under the tuition and superintendence of Mr and Mrs WRIGHT, has all along been, and continues to be, in the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious branches, most satisfactory. Impressed besides, as the teachers both are on principle, with the vital importance of cleanliness, ventilation, air, and exercise, and of the alternation, *at short intervals* with children of lesson and sitting with play, they enjoy the satisfaction of witnessing strength and health restored to the weak and

sickly, and increased vigour manifested by the robust ; while the guiding principles of the system have all along continued to direct their steps, which have not swerved to either hand into paths which may lead far away from the results to which this Society looked when they associated. Mr WILDERSPIN, though distant, continues to guide its Edinburgh Model Infant School ; and will continue to do so, till its Directors are well convinced indeed, that something better than this system can be substituted.

Visitors, who are numerous, have been much gratified by the varied knowledge of objects and their relations exhibited by such young children. The Teacher has himself collected a little museum of articles, calculated to impress, in a systematic manner, a great number of natural qualities and effects. The friends of the Institution might greatly increase this collection, by sending articles which are to be found in their drawers and shelves as useless lumber.

The attainments of the children in scripture knowledge afford the best commentary upon the method adopted for the earliest “ inculcation of Christian Truth,” and it is remarkable, that when a choice is given to them of the kind of anecdote to be told them by the Teacher, the vote is, in most cases, for a Scripture story.

The whole economy and system of the play-ground has fully answered the most sanguine expectations entertained of it. *Here* is the true Infant School ; the school-room is but an accessory. In the play-ground are acquired cleanliness, cheerfulness, health, activity, and resource ; and social affections are exercised and practised. The results in all these particulars are most cheering. Strangers are struck with the healthy, cleanly, happy, active and intelligent aspect of the groups. Dirtiness, indelicacy, and filthiness are unknown ; and habitual kindness, civility, justice, and scrupulous honesty, rule the intercourse of the little community. Pieces of bread have often lain untouched within the reach of the whole school for days, when forgotten by their owners. Instances of dishonesty have occasionally occurred, but they never have, without being made a lesson both to the little offender and his playfellows. The Teacher having been directed to keep a record of

instructive occurrences, has furnished many instances of the practical working of the system ; to which the Committee have much satisfaction in adding the answers of above thirty of the parents, to a circular letter addressed generally by the Teacher, to obtain the opinion of the effect upon the children of attendance at School. A few specimens are printed in the Appendix of those grateful testimonies. The letters are of course from the most respectable class of parents ; but there are many whose children are reaping perhaps comparatively the greater good, who themselves are of a character which cannot appreciate, and an education which cannot acknowledge it. It is only the Teacher, and those who, like him, has visited the homes—if homes they can be called—of many of the poor children, that can estimate the contrast between the squalor and wretchedness of these abodes, and the light, air, cleanliness, warmth, cheerfulness, occupation, goodwill and happiness of the infant school and play-ground ; and who can fully comprehend why the resort to school is so willing, and the stay so lingering. The Committee cannot withhold an affecting instance. One of their number when visiting the school, had his attention attracted by a little girl of about four years of age, who was remarkable for the gentlest demeanour, and, at the same time, the most miserably starved and wretched appearance. The child seemed to cling to him in the play-ground, and repeatedly took hold of his hand or his coat. To complete the picture of infant misery, one eye exhibited the mark of a severe blow. The Teacher's account of the little creature was, that she was the child of a drunken mother, who gave her the *black eye* in a fit of fury ! This woman, he added, occasionally visits the school, where she creates a disturbance, sometimes abusing him for detaining her child, and sometimes for not detaining her. The child often comes without her breakfast, and without a mouthful of food for the day, a want which Mr and Mrs WRIGHT have as often supplied, even at the hazard of encouraging the evil which they deplore. Mr WRIGHT's explanation of the poor child's drawing near to the Director was as touching as true. " She is a gentle child," he said, " very unlike her mother, and seems to associate with school and

every thing about it, that protection and kindness to which at home she is a stranger.”

As a school for teachers of Infant Schools, the Edinburgh Model School has, for its duration, done a fair portion of work ; and it has been found that there is a variety and intensity of interest in the system, which is calling forth a class of minds very superior to those of ordinary schoolmasters ; one and all of them increase in zeal as they advance practically in their studies ; affording a satisfactory prospect of a command of efficient labourers, as the harvest of Infant education ripens, and the demand extends. When Mr WRIGHT was unfortunately laid aside by illness, a young man, who had spent many a leisure hour in the school, left his occupation as a journeyman printer, and efficiently supplied the vacancy for many weeks ; while another young man, the son of the building contractor, witnessing Mr WILDERSPIN's first training of the school, as he worked about it as a carpenter, picked up with alacrity and eagerness the whole plan, studied the book, mastered the songs, and actually established a gratis Infant School of his own, of between thirty and forty pupils, which he still teaches in the evenings after his work hours ! The Committee know that many young men are contemplating the fitting of themselves for the interesting occupation and the independence, which the multiplication of Infant Schools offers them. The example of Edinburgh (herself in the wake of Glasgow, whose success has led to many Infant Schools in the west of Scotland) has produced Infant Schools already at Aberdeen, Dundee, Kinghorn, Dunfermline, Portobello, Inverness, and Dingwall, and they are projected in other towns and places all over the country.

JAMES SIMPSON, *Conr.*
Ordinary Directors.

APPENDIX TO FOREGOING REPORT.

I.—*Effects of the Moral Training.*

1. Incidents to shew the good effects of exercising Kindness and Consideration for others, in opposition to reckless Mischief, Hardheartedness, and Cruelty ; vices which render the lower orders dangerous and formidable.

1. Two of the children, brothers, about five and four years of age, coming one morning late into school, were to go to their seats without censure, if they could give an account of what they had been doing, which should be declared satisfactory by the whole school, who should decide. They stated, separately, that they had been contemplating the proceedings of a large caterpillar, and noticing the different positions of its body as it crossed their path—that it was now horizontal, and now perpendicular, and presently curved, and finally inclined, when it escaped into a tree. The master then asked them abruptly, “ Why did you not kill it ? ” The children stared. “ *Could* you have killed it ? ” asked the teacher. “ Yes, but that would have been cruel and naughty, and a sin against God.” The little moralists were acquitted by acclamation ; having, infants as they were, manifested a character which, were it universal in the juvenile population, would in another generation reduce our penal code to a mass of waste paper, in one grand department of its bulk. *

2. The teacher mentioned to the children one day, that he had been occupied about a boy and a girl who had no father or mother, and whose grandfather and grandmother, who took care of them, were bedrid and in great poverty. The boy was seven years of age, too old for the Infant School, but some gentlemen, he said, were exerting themselves to get the boy into one of the hospitals. Here he purposely stopped to try the sympathies of his audience for the girl. He was not disappointed, several little voices called out at once, “ O ! Master ! what for no the lassie too ? ” He assured

* This instance of practical mercy occurred strongly to my mind, one day last spring in London ; when passing along a street, I saw several big boys with a live mouse at the end of a string ; I returned in a few minutes the same way, and found they had killed it, and were *beating it to atoms with their sticks* ! !

them that the girl was to come to the Infant School, and to be boarded with him and Mrs Wright ; and the intelligence was received with loud plaudits.

3. One day when the children were in the play ground, four boys occupied the boys' circular swing, while a stranger gentleman was looking on with the teacher. Conscious of being looked at, the little fellows were wheeling round with more than usual swiftness and dexterity, when a creature of two or three years made a sudden dart forward into their very orbit, and in an instant must have been knocked down with great force. With a presence of mind and consideration, and with a mechanical skill, which to admire most we know not, one of the boys, about five years old, used the instant of time in which the singular movement was practicable, threw his whole body into a horizontal position, and went clear over the infant's head ! But this was not all : in the same well employed instant, it occurred to him that that movement was not enough to save the little intruder, as he himself was to be followed as quick as thought by the next swinger. For this he provided by dropping his own feet to the ground and stopping the whole machine, the instant he had cleared the child's head ! The spectator of this admirable specimen of intellect and good feeling, which was all necessarily the thought and act of a moment, had his hand instinctively in his pocket for a shilling, but was stopped by the teacher, who disowns all inferior motives for acts of kindness and justice. The little hero, however, had his reward : for the incident was related by the teacher in full school, in presence of the strangers, and was received with several rounds of hearty applause.

4. J. J. accused H. S. of having eat up J. J.'s dinner. It was proved by several witnesses, that H. S. not only appropriated the dinner, but used force. The charge being proved to the satisfaction of the *Jury* (the whole school), the same tribunal were requested by the teacher to decide what should be the consequences to the convict. One orator rose and suggested, that as H. S. had not yet eat his own dinner, he ought to give it to J. J. This motion, for the children always welcome any reasonable substitute for corporal punishment, was carried by acclamation. When one o'clock came, and the dinner was handed over, *coram publico*, to J. J., H. S. was observed by him to be in tears, and lingering near his *own* dinner. They were by this time nearly alone, but the teacher was watching the result. The tears were too much for J. J., who went to H. S., threw his arms about his neck, told

him not to cry, but to sit down and take half. This invitation was of course accepted by H. S., who manifested a great inferiority of character to the other, and furnished an example of the blindness of the unjust to the justice of retribution, which *they* always feel to be mere revenge and cruelty. He could not bear to see J. J. even sharing *his* dinner, and told him with bitterness that he would tell his mother. "Weel, weel!" said the generous child, "I'll gie y'd a' back again." Of course the teacher interfered to prevent this gross injustice; and in the afternoon made their schoolfellows completely aware of the part each had acted. It is not easy to render a character like that of H. S. liberal; but a long course of such *practice*, for precept is impotent in such cases, might much modify what in after life would have turned out a selfish, unjust, and unsocial character.

2. Incidents to shew the good effects of practically exercising Honesty and Truth,—to the end of superseding another branch of criminal jurisprudence.

1. One of the children lost a halfpenny in the play-ground. The mistress was so certain that it would be found and accounted for, that she lent the loser a halfpenny. Some time after, when the incident was nearly forgotten, one of the boys, J. F. found a halfpenny in the play-ground, and although no one saw him find it, he brought it at once to the teacher. As the latter knew nothing about the loss of a halfpenny already alluded to, it appeared to him a halfpenny without an owner; but one of the children suggested that it must be the lost halfpenny for which the mistress had given the substitute. "What, then, shall be done with it?" Many voices answered "the mistress should get it." The girl who lost the halfpenny was called out, and at once knew her own. It was given to her, and she immediately transferred it to the mistress. The teacher then appealed to the whole school. "Is that right?" "Yes! yes! right! right!" was called out by the whole assemblage, with much applause and animation. This last accompaniment of their approbation is strongly contrasted with the more tranquil and evidently regretting way in which they condemn, when any thing is wrong.

2. A penny was found in the play-ground, which had lain so long as to be mouldy and rusty. It was held up for an owner, but claimed by none. "What shall we do with it?" "Keep it

master, keep it." "Why should I keep it, I have no right to it more than any one here." This was puzzling to all, till a little girl, not four years old, stood up and said, "Put it in the box." Many voices seconded this excellent motion, and the master referred it to a show of hands; up went every hand in the school, most of the children shewing both hands for a greater certainty, and the penny was put into the subscription-box amid cheers of animation and delight.

3. Immediately before the vacation in August 1830, three boys plucked a few black currants, which had ripened on the play-ground wall; fruit and flowers being cultivated to exercise self-denial and refinement in the children. One of the boys kept to himself double the quantity which he vouchsafed to each of the other two, but gave a part to a fourth boy, who had seen the transaction, evidently to purchase his silence; but thinking this hopeless, he took back the gift, and struck the boy to give it up, remarking, that as he knew he would *tell*, he the speaker need not lose his berries into the bargain. They all confessed, and expressed their sorrow, except the striker, decidedly in all respects the most guilty, who maintained a bold and hardened countenance. The voice of the school was, however, merciful to them all, which so much affected the last-mentioned offender that he burst into tears. A clergyman, one of the Directors, was present, whose eye the boy caught, and instantly brushed away his tears, and joined in the hymn which was sung at the moment. He staid behind the rest, assiduously assisted the master to put away the things, a civility he never shewed before, and begged to shake hands with him when he went away.

4. P. M. was brought to solemn trial, before the whole school, for keeping up a penny of his weekly school-fee. After the trial and award, which were both just and judicious, the teacher asked the school, "How many of us have been tried now!" A voice called out, "J. H. has been tried." This was indignantly denied by J. H. The teacher turning to J. M., asking him if he had ever been tried? He hung his head, and answered "Yes." "What was it for?" "Master, do you not remember yourself?" "I do; but are you any the better of your trial and punishment?" "I've never stolen since, any how." "What was your reason for not stealing? I listened to the *thing in my breast*, and that told me it was a crime."

J. M.'s offence had been watching, all the time of school, a penny-piece which had been dropped under the stove, and secretly appropriating it when the school was dismissed. His confession bore that his first purpose was to buy bowls (marbles), but he felt so unhappy that he could not make up his mind to *look upon* what he should purchase, and formed the singular resolution to expend the money in something eatable, that he might get it out of his sight ! This he did, and gave a share to a schoolfellow. He was asked whether his conscience did not upbraid him. He answered, " It did not speak very loud at first ; but I grew very unhappy, and was happier after I was tried and punished." His contrite tears moved the compassion of his numerous judges, who wished to have spared him ; but this was not admissible in the circumstances, and a few pats on the hand was the form of corporal punishment allotted him. He was sorely tempted, for he confessed that he kept his eye on the penny-piece for two hours before he took it.

5. The following incident was communicated by a gentleman from England, Dr Harrison Black, who, in company with the Chevalier de Frasans, Judge of Assize under Charles X., witnessed the whole occurrence :—The Chevalier de Frasans being present, the master was suddenly called into the play-ground, in consequence of a cry that one boy had struck another on the forehead, so as to make the blood flow : All the children were immediately called in, and inquiry made as to who had been witnesses of the affair. Those who presented themselves were sent into an adjoining room, and the injured party desired to state his grievance. He simply said, T. B. had " struck him with a spade" (which had for a moment been left by a workman), and that he did not believe it had been done on purpose. The offending party being called, said, " J. M. had told him he could not lift up the spade, and in trying to shew that he could do it, the blow was given." The witnesses were called in, one by one, and gave their testimony with great clearness, particularly a little quaker girl. They all corroborated the statement of the accused party.

The teacher then asked of the whole assembly of children, " What punishment ought to be awarded ?" The general cry was, " Three palmies," (*i. e.* three pats upon the palm of the hand), because that punishment had been a few days before awarded to H. S. But one boy rose, and exclaimed, " No, that is not fair, for H. S. told a falsehood about the fault he had committed, and T. B. did not tell any falsehood."

The justice of this remark seemed to be generally understood ; and part only of the punishment was determined upon. The culprit was then reminded, that although the blow had not been given intentionally, still he had broken a law which forbade all the children to touch the tools of the workmen, and was made sensible that the punishment was not inflicted because the teacher was angry, but because he, T. B., had broken a law. The truth of this the little offender fully acknowledged to the bystanders, as well as to his master and schoolfellows. The punishment actually inflicted was a gentle tap upon the hand.

Hereupon a new and unexpected scene arose, the *offended party* seeing that all around concurred in condemning the offender, cried out, " I'll find a coachman's whip, and lash him." This gave occasion to another appeal to the children as to the injustice of this threatened second punishment, and ended by the threatener being made sensible that all present were now against *him*. As a proof, he said, " Don't be frightened, Tom, I'll not whip you, or tell my father." It appeared that he had been so short a time in the school, as not to have become imbued with the governing principles of the place.

7. A little boy came to school with his hands covered with paint. He applied to the teacher's sister to aid him in his extremity, which she did effectually by dint of hot water and soap. He promised to reward her with a halfpenny, whenever he should get one. She, wishing to try him, asked him some days afterwards if he had forgot his promise. He answered, No, but that he had put the first halfpenny he had got into the poor's plate at church. Having soon after got a halfpenny from a lady, he rung the teacher's housebell, and gave the money to his creditor, who took it, but, after some days, restored it.

3. Proofs of the success of the System, in its fundamental principle of governing by Love, and not by Fear, and that consistently with the most perfect order and discipline.

1. The master one day intimated that he wanted a number of articles, of a kind which he enumerated, to illustrate the lessons. He was next day inundated with all sorts of odds and ends, every child bringing with him something,—leather, feathers, cloths, silk, stones, wood, glass, &c. &c.

2. Accidentally saying that he would come and visit his pupils at their own homes, and if he did, how would they entertain him, the question was answered, by a burst of hospitality, and the number and variety of the articles of cheer enumerated were too much for his gravity. He observed, however, that *whisky* was *not* among the temptations offered him, in the competition for the preference of his company.

3. A parent came one day to the school, expressly to be satisfied on the puzzle, as he said, it was to him, how a *schoolmaster* could render himself the object of love ! His own was always the object of terror ; and, instead of running to him when he appeared, he and his schoolmates went off in the opposite direction, with the greatest alertness. His boy, he said, runs *to* the master whenever he sees him, and is proud to come home and tell that he has shaken hands with Mr Wright, of whom, as well as of Mrs Wright and Maggy (the latter a worthy of three years old, the master's child, who sets an example to the whole school) he never ceases to speak.

Mr Wright requested the inquirer to remain, and see how he treated his scholars. He did so, and witnessed the kindness, the cheerfulness, and the fun which never flags, while he saw discipline and obedience at the same time. The children went to the play-ground, and, to the amazement of the visitor, the teacher, ran out, crying, "Hare and hounds ! hare and hounds !" taking the first character on himself, he was instantly pursued full cry by the whole pack, round and round the play-ground : at last he was taken, and worried by an immense act of co-operation. In his extremity, he rang his hand-bell for school ; instantly the hounds quitted their prey, rushed into school, the door being scarcely wide enough for them, and were within a minute as still as a rank of soldiers, seated in their gallery, and busy with the multiplication table. The visitor went away, with a shrug, muttering, "Na, the like o' that I ne'er saw !"

Many pages might be filled with anecdotes illustrative of the beneficial effects of the system in preventing the numerous fears, follies, envyings, discontents, and prejudices, which render the lower classes so intractable. The superstitious fear of ghosts, witches, &c. is practically removed. A person informed Mr Wright, that as he was crossing a church-yard, not without the habitual dread which from his youth he could not separate from the place, he met a little girl of five years old marching through all alone. "Was

she not afraid?" "Not a bit: we learn at the Infant School that ghosts and all that is nonsense." All dirty, gross, destructive, selfish, and insolent habits are proscribed, and carefully prevented; and, above all, *whisky* is held up as the greatest of curses to society. and many a lesson is taught of its effects on both mind and body, The children heard, with much indignation, of a crowd in the street, insulting a poor Turk,—of some boys who teased an idiot —of the mob breaking windows on occasion of the illumination —and of the people maltreating the Doctors for their kindness in trying to cure the cholera.

N. B. It is unnecessary to give examples of the effect of Intellectual Practice, as there is less novelty in children being trained to acuteness and sagacity; and much of this is capable of exhibition to the public, which is not possible, on set occasions, with proofs of moral advancement. The results in this department, it may, however, be mentioned, are most satisfactory.

II.—*Letters from the Parents.*

In order to ascertain that the effects of the moral training were not a mere show at school, Mr Wright was directed to write a circular note to a large proportion of the parents, requesting their opinion, in writing, of the improvement of their children attending the school, in learning, manners, affection, obedience, health, and happiness. Above thirty answers were received, of which we can only give a very few as specimens, which we do at random. The originals may be seen by any one who chuses, in Mr Wright's hands. It may in general be remarked that there is a striking agreement among them in a zealous readiness to express, in strong terms, their sense of and gratitude for the advantages their children enjoy at school, and the improvement of their own comfort in their intercourse with their children at home. The delight of the children in attending School, and affection for the Teacher, are mentioned in most of them.

1. DEAR SIR,—I can scarcely express to you how much my children have been benefited by your more than excellent mode of tuition. Whether the many improvements so perceptible in them proceeds from your own qualifications, or from the general system, I know not; but this I know, that before my children attended the Infant School, they were slow, dull, and unmanageable; they are now active, lively, and obedient. I am, &c.

(Signed) JAMES FORBES.

2. SIR,—I received your letter regarding the opinion I had formed of my son's improvement at the Infant School. I beg leave to state, that it has exceeded my utmost expectation; and in answer to your questions, the Infant School system, so far from alienating the affections of children to their parents, it increases them to a high degree, and makes them more obedient, and promotes greatly their health and happiness, and they are greatly benefited by the instructions they receive. I have also to return my sincere thanks for your kindness and indulgence to them. I am, &c.

(Signed) E. GRAHAM

3. SIR,—I have the pleasure to inform you, that my child has improved in every respect. The affection of the child is not alienated from its parents: it is more affectionate and obedient. The health and happiness of the child is greatly improved and much benefited by the instructions received at the School. I am, &c.

(Signed) JAMES FOGO.

4. DEAR SIR,—It gives me great satisfaction to inform you of the rapid progress the child is making under your care; indeed it is wonderful for so short a time. Owing to your excellent method, she has acquired a taste for learning she never could get at home. She has forgot her playthings, and if the day is so bad that she cannot go to school, she either sings us a song, tells a story, or goes through part of her school exercises the best way she can by herself. She often mentions some part of Scripture, although she is only five years old. I assure you, Sir, her love and respect for her master is great. I think, Sir, all this will give you pleasure to hear, and with good wishes for the improvement of the children, and thanks for what has already been done, I am, &c.

(Signed) CATHERINE ROBERTSON.

5. SIR,—I am really delighted with my son for his intelligence since he went under your tutorage; and I altogether approve of Mr Wilderspin's System of treating children, and, in my opinion, it is not only now, but in future years, it will be instilled in his memory. And you, Sir, I am convinced, have done your duty from the affection that he has towards you, for he is always speaking about Mr Wright, or giving us a recital of the useful information you give him: and so much I approve of the system, that I am going to send another boy of mine as soon as the days get a

little longer ; and please accept of our best thanks for your attention to our son. I am, &c. (Signed) THOS. WATSON.

6. SIR,—With regard to our son's morals, we think them very much improved, for he has a true sense between right and wrong, and the greatness and goodness of God. His intellectual parts are as far advanced as we could expect in the time he has been at School, and we by no means think his affections alienated from us. As far as our judgment can direct us, we think it must be a great benefit to society. I am, &c. (Signed) JAMES THOMSON.

Many of the other letters are both well written and worded, and all of them are interesting and satisfactory.*

III.—*Rules for the Society and for the Management of the School.*

1. THE object of the EDINBURGH INFANT SCHOOL SOCIETY is to establish and support in this City a Model School for the inculcation of Christian truth on the infant mind, according to the mode of instruction laid down in the fourth edition of Mr Wilderspin's work on Infant Education ; to establish such other Schools of the same kind as their funds may permit, and to promote the formation of similar Schools both in Edinburgh and elsewhere, by affording every facility and encouragement in their power in favour of the extension of Infant Education.

2. Donors of Five Guineas, and Subscribers of Five Shillings annually, to the funds, shall be considered members of the Edinburgh Infant School Society.

3. The affairs of the Society shall be under the direction of a Patron, President, Three Vice Presidents, Twenty-four Extraordinary and Twelve Ordinary Directors, a Secretary and Treasurer.

4. The active management of the Institution shall be entrusted to the Ordinary Directors, the Secretary and Treasurer being ex-officio members of that body, any five being a quorum. They

* Mrs W. did not write, but called at the School to bear her willing testimony to her boy's change of character since he attended the School. She said he was previously a stubborn wilful boy, and took twenty hidings. He now obeys for one, and that cheerfully.

shall hold stated Quarterly Meetings on the first Monday of January, April, July, and October.

5. Every year one Vice-President, one fourth part of the number of Extraordinary, and also of the Ordinary Directors, shall go out in rotation, and be replaced by an equal number of others elected at the Annual Meeting, the individuals so retiring being always eligible to be re-elected.

6. Three of the Ordinary Directors shall be appointed at each Quarterly Meeting, specially to superintend the School; on the first Monday of every month to examine into the state of the School, and to receive and determine on all applications for admission; and such Directors shall report their proceedings in a book to be kept for that purpose.

7. Such clergymen as are in the direction of the Society, together with any other Members who may be appointed, shall be a standing Committee for religious purposes.

8. At the Quarterly Meeting in January, the Directors shall nominate a Ladies' Visiting Committee, who shall be requested to visit regularly, by Sub-committees of their number, appointed from time to time, to examine into the state of clothing, cleanliness, and health of the children, and to suggest any improvement in the state of the School which may occur to them, in a book to be kept for that purpose.

9. The Master and Mistress shall be elected annually by the Ordinary Directors, and be under their control.

10. An annual General Meeting of the Society, with or without an exhibition of the children, as may be resolved by the Ordinary Directors, shall be held at some convenient time in the month of May. At that General Meeting the Ordinary Directors shall be required to give in a Report of their proceedings, and of the state of their funds.

11. The Directors shall be empowered to form whatever provisional regulations may be found requisite to enable them best to fulfil the object of the Society, such regulations not becoming permanent till they have received the approval of the Society at a General Meeting.

RULES FOR THE MASTER AND MISTRESS.

1. The Master shall open and close the School each day with prayer.

2. The Master and Mistress shall read the Scriptures in the

School daily, and shall endeavour to bring Scripture truth and sound moral principles to bear practically upon the minds and consciences of the children, with a simplicity and mildness suited to their tender years, and shall take care that all restraints or corrections which proper discipline may require, be exempt from every species of harshness, anger and violence.

3. Either the Master or Mistress shall *always* superintend the children while in the play-grounds.

4. The School to be kept clean, to be swept every day, and the floor-gallery and seats to be washed every Saturday afternoon, so as to be perfectly dry before Monday.

RULES FOR THE SCHOOL.

1. Each child to pay twopence weekly, which must be paid every Monday morning. When two or more children belong to one family, only one penny weekly will be required for each additional child.

2. Children to be admitted on the first Monday of every month only, when a Committee of the Directors will attend to receive them.

3. Children shall not be admitted before they are two years of age, nor after five years of age; neither shall any be admitted who have any infectious disease, or who may not have been vaccinated or have had the small-pox.

4. Parents must send their children with hands, face, and neck clean, their hair cut short and combed, and their clothes as clean and decent as possible.

5. The hours of attendance to be, in the summer half-year from the 1st March to the 1st October, as follows: The School to open at Half-past Nine, and exercise to begin at Ten precisely, and to continue till Five, with an interval of one hour from One to Two, for dinner; and in the Winter half-year, to commence at the same time and to continue till Three, with half an hour interval for dinner. The children to be at liberty to bring their dinner, and remain within the premises till the School recommences.

6. The Children absent three days, or late in coming to School for one week without leave, or a satisfactory excuse, shall forfeit their right of attendance.

7. Persons wishing to visit the School will be admitted on Tuesdays and Fridays. No individual to be admitted at any other

time, except the visitors appointed to attend in rotation, or such as have permission in writing from one of the Directors.

IV.—*Kinds of Articles which will be thankfully received at the Infant School in the Vennel, from the Public, for the Museum of the School.*

1. Models of ships, boats, simple machines, tools, curiosities, &c.
2. Specimens of manufactures, common and curious.
3. Specimens of metals, wood, nuts, and such like portable botanic articles, and of mineral stones.
4. Foreign articles, especially from rude tribes.
5. Pictures of costumes of various races of men, and historical and interesting pictures of all kinds.
6. Stuffed birds and animals, and pictures of them.
7. Miscellaneous articles of all kinds which will surprise, amuse, or instruct children from two to six years of age ; such as puzzles, dissected pictures and maps, changing figures, curious toys, &c. &c. &c.

No. IV.

LETTER FROM THE REV. MR CUNNINGHAM, HEAD
MASTER OF THE EDINBURGH INSTITUTION FOR
LANGUAGES, MATHEMATICS, &c.

EDINBURGH, 6. HILL STREET,
5th March 1834.

DEAR SIR,—In answer to your inquiries, I beg leave to state the result of my experience in teaching the Classics and Mathematics in George Watson's Hospital, and the Edinburgh Institution.

The time allotted in Watson's Hospital, to the teaching of Latin in the higher classes, was two hours daily, Greek one hour, Arithmetic and Algebra one hour, and Geometry one hour. This portion of time was found sufficient for communicating a competent knowledge of Latin, and Greek, and the elements of Mathematics. In proof of this, I may state, that of three pupils, who were sent to College, during the time in which I acted as House-Governor, one obtained a prize in the second Greek class, the first year of his attendance at college, and a prize in the Senior Humanity class the second year of his attendance; two obtained prizes in the Junior Mathematical class the first year of their attendance; and the third, without obtaining prizes, distinguished himself by his knowledge of the business of each of these classes.

I may appeal also to the manner in which the pupils acquitted themselves at the annual examination, as attested by written testimonials from the Professors and others who attended as examiners, and to the appointment of two Latin Masters of that Institution in succession, the one to the Grammar School of Dumfries, and the other to Madras College, St Andrews.

In the institution which I now conduct, two hours daily are allotted to the teaching of Greek and Latin. By limiting the number of pupils, by confining their attention to what is essential to the attainment of a knowledge of the language, and by unremitting exertions during the hours of teaching, I have been enabled

to read and analyze minutely, nearly as much as is read in classes of the same standing at the Academy and High School. I have found that the progress of my pupils in reading the classics, has been greatly facilitated by the knowledge which they acquired in the other classes of the Institution; and that they have been enabled to sustain their attention much more vigorously during the hours of teaching, by having it relieved by a change of employment. In the Institution one hour a-day is allotted to Geometry, and one to Arithmetic and Algebra. The age at which pupils usually enter on the study of Geometry, is fourteen. Two hours a day devoted to these studies for two years by a boy of that age, ought to qualify him, in as far as regards Mathematics, either for the business of life, or for the higher classes at the University. The pupils attending the Institution consist of two classes, those who combine the study of the ancient languages, with Mathematics and Modern languages, and those whose attention is directed chiefly to the two last. Both these classes prosecute at the same time the study of History, and Geography, and of English literature and composition; a considerable number also attend the Masters for Writing, Landscape, and Architectural Drawing, and Fencing, and Gymnastics.

In addition to the studies above enumerated, I have long been of opinion that Natural History, and the Elements of Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry, might be introduced with advantage.

The difficulty of procuring a museum, and the necessary philosophical instruments, and a person properly qualified to give instructions in these branches of knowledge, has hitherto prevented me from making the attempt. Until the public mind is more impressed with the importance of instruction in natural science, and the practicability of conveying this instruction, even to very young persons, such an attempt is not, indeed, likely to succeed. In the mean time as much information as possible on these subjects is conveyed by the English classes. I am, Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

ROBT. CUNNINGHAM.

No. V.

SPECIMEN OF THE DAILY RECORD OF DUTIES, ORGANIC, MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL, AS KEPT FOR ONE WEEK.

| | | Sun. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. | Frid. | Sat. |
|------------------------------------|--|------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|
| <i>Organic Duties.</i> | | | | | | | | |
| 1. | Moderate and Wholesome Food, - | O | T | S T | | | | |
| | Air and Exercise, - - - | O | N | — | | | | |
| | Cleanliness, - - - | O | N | T | — | | | |
| | Early Hours, but sufficient Sleep, - | O | N | — | | | | |
| <i>Moral and Religious Duties.</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Regulation of the Propensities. | 5. { Gentleness, Forbearance, no Contention, | O | W | T | S T | | | |
| | 6. { Courage, no Cowardice, - - | O | W | V W | N | — | | |
| | 7. { Activity, no Listlessness or Idleness, | O | N | T | W | — | | |
| | 8. { Good Temper, no Passion or Cruelty, | O | T | S T | | | | |
| | 9. { Openness, no Cunning or Deceit, - | O | N | T | S T | | | |
| | 10. { Frugality no Greediness, or Miserliness, | O | N | T | S T | | | |
| | 11. { Humility, no Pride, no Meanness, | O | T | S T | | | | |
| | 12. { No Insolence, Derision, or Provocation, | O | T | S T | — | | | |
| | 13. { No Self-Prefer., no Jealousy, no Envy, | O | T | S T | — | | | |
| | 14. { Regard to good Opinion, no Shameless- | O | T | S T | — | | | |
| | 15. { ness, - - - - | O | T | S T | — | | | |
| | 16. { No Courting of Praise, no Vanity, | O | T | S T | — | | | |
| | 17. { Caution, Circumspection, no Rashness, | O | N | T | — | | | |
| | 18. { Spontaneous Kindness, no Coldhearted- | O | N | W | V W | — | | |
| | 19. { ness, - - - - | O | N | W | V W | — | | |
| | 20. { Truth, Justice, Charitable Judgment, | O | T | S T | W | — | | |
| | 21. { Candour, Gratitude, - - | O | N | W | T | S T | | |
| | 22. { Conscientious Duty, seen or not seen, | O | N | T | S T | | | |
| | 23. { Love and Obedience to God, - | O | N | T | S T | | | |
| Exercise of Moral Sentiments. | 24. { Religious Duties, - - - | O | N | T | S T | | | |
| | 25. { Obedience and Deference to Parents, | O | T | S T | | | | |
| | 26. { Respectfulness to Super., Equals, Inf., | O | T | S T | | | | |
| | 27. { Cheerfulness, Content, - - | O | N | — | | | | |
| | 28. { Fortitude, Resistance of Temptation, | O | N | T | S T | W | — | |
| <i>Intellectual Duties.</i> | | | | | | | | |
| 22, 23, | Accurate Obser. of Objects and Events, | O | N | W | — | | | |
| | Attentive Study and Improvement, | O | N | W | — | | | |
| | Order and Punctuality, - - | O | N | — | | | | |
| | 24, 25. Exercise of Reflection and Good Sense, | O | N | W | — | | | |

EXPLANATION.—The figures on the left denote the Faculties concerned in the duties, (see Table, p. 110). The pupil enters in pencil, to be inked, if approved by the teacher, the fulfilment, &c. of each duty, thus,—by the letter O, if obeyed,—N, if neglected,—T, if transgressed,—ST, if seriously transgressed. The mother, or teacher, alone, enters W for well done,—V W, very well, when respectively merited. The hyphen or score means no entry called for. Each book, in quarto size, exactly like the well known annual house-book from which it was copied, lasts the pupil a year.

No. VI.

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR PROCURING INSTRUCTION IN USEFUL AND ENTERTAINING SCIENCE, FROM ITS INSTITUTION IN 1832 TO APRIL 1834.

IN the summer of 1832, several individuals engaged in mercantile and trading avocations, and who were then attending Mr COMBE'S evening Course of Lectures on Phrenology, expressed a strong desire for a more extended course during winter, along with lectures on some other subjects of Natural Science. With this view they resolved to form themselves into an association for procuring such instruction, at convenient hours, and on moderate terms; and in order to make the Public acquainted with their intentions, as well as to ascertain the support likely to be obtained, they printed and circulated the following "Proposal for Courses of Lectures on Natural History—Chemistry—and Phrenology combined with Physiology."

"The want of the means of obtaining a general knowledge of these sciences has long been felt by the Middle Classes of society. Hitherto they have possessed few opportunities for becoming acquainted with a mass of highly useful and interesting information, which it would be the object of these Lectures to communicate, and which, in its numerous applications to the purposes of life, is calculated greatly to improve our physical, moral, and intellectual nature.

"The regular lectures delivered on the subjects before mentioned—besides being inaccessible to *Females*, and being delivered at hours inconvenient for persons engaged in ordinary business—are too purely scientific, too little applicable to the advancement of individuals in general knowledge, and also too expensive, to benefit the unprofessional student. A wide field of usefulness there-

fore lies open, which may be successfully occupied by skilful teachers, if duly encouraged by the public.

“ It is unnecessary to enter into a lengthened statement of the advantages of a knowledge of the sciences above named. To those who have been longing for such an opportunity as is now offered to them, the mere proposal is enough ; but to others who may have been hitherto indifferent about such matters, or who would seek nothing more than amusement after closing their daily labours, it may be proper to state, that the branches which are included in the proposed Courses, afford an inexhaustible supply of the most varied and interesting *amusement* as well as instruction. Natural Science possesses charms to interest both the old and the young, the learned and the unlearned ; and were the simple and beautiful laws by which the whole of nature is held together more studied and better understood than they generally are, how differently, indeed, would the world be looked upon, and with what innocent, profitable, and lasting pleasure would those hours then be spent, which are now too often trifled away in frivolity and *ennui*, or dissipation.

“ To some it may appear strange, to many it may seem even ridiculous, to see Phrenology in the list of the proposed studies ; but the projectors of this Course are persuaded, that Phrenology is the only philosophical system which has any claim to the character of a true theory of human nature, and that exhibits man in his true relation to the other beings in this world. While, therefore, two of the departments of the Lectures, Natural History and Chemistry, are intended for instruction in the nature of inorganic or lifeless substances, and of organic and animal beings, —the projectors look to Phrenology combined with Physiology, for the most important of all scientific information—the knowledge of man’s nature as an organized, animated, and moral being. Without this, and a knowledge of the relation in which man stands to other beings, the proposed lectures would be imperfect ; and, judging from what they have lately seen—the continued interest with which Mr COMBE’s Evening Lectures on Phrenology have been attended, as also from what they have heard of the in-

terest taken in similar lectures recently given at the London Mechanics' Institution and elsewhere—the projectors flatter themselves that this part of the proposal will meet with very general approbation among those persons for whom the Courses are intended.

“ While, however, it is considered of importance that all the three departments of the Lectures shall be attended, it will be left to the choice of Subscribers to attend any one or more at pleasure.” And with this view the following fees are fixed :—For Geology alone, 7s. 6d. ; Chemistry alone, 10s. 6d. ; Phrenology and Physiology alone, 10s. 6d. ; Geology and Chemistry combined, 13s. 6d. ; Geology, Phrenology, and Physiology combined, 13s. 6d. ; Chemistry, Phrenology and Physiology, combined, 15s. ; Geology, Chemistry, Phrenology and Physiology, combined, 20s.—All the tickets transferable.”

It having soon appeared that the plan was generally approved of, arrangements were made with Dr MURRAY to give the Lectures on Geology and Chemistry, and with Mr COMBE to give those on Phrenology and Physiology. In October a numerous meeting of Subscribers and others was held in the Waterloo Rooms, when a Report, explanatory of the measures which had been adopted, and of the farther objects in view, was read and approved of, and a Committee appointed for superintending the details. The number of Subscribers, even at the commencement of the Lectures, exceeded all expectation, and in a short time it became necessary, owing to the crowded state of the rooms, to stop the farther sale of tickets, and limit the number of visitors, although the latter paid 6d. for admission to each lecture. The remarkable success of this Winter Course will be apparent from the following detailed Abstract of Receipt and Expenditure, published in the Directors' Second Report.

Detailed Abstract of Receipt and Expenditure.

RECEIPT.

| | Tickets Sold. | | Visitors Admitted. | | Total Received. |
|----------------------|------------------|----|-----------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Geology,..... | 251...L. 69 | 4 | 0...142...L. 3 | 11 | 0...L. 72 15 0 |
| Chemistry, 229..... | 90 | 0 | 0...387..... | 9 13 | 6.....99 13 6 |
| Phrenology, 225..... | 89 | 18 | 6...700..... | 17 10 | 0.... 107 8 6 |
| | 705..L. 249 | 2 | 6..1229..L. 30 | 14 | 6..L. 279 17 0 |

EXPENDITURE.

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|------------|
| GEOLOGY & CHEMISTRY.—Paid Dr MURRAY, L. 52 : 10 : 0 ; Fittings in Waterloo Rooms, L. 16 : 11 : 8 ; Room Rent, Door Keeper, and Cleaning, L. 30 : 15 : 8 ; proportion of advertising and printing, L. 8 : 10 : 11 ; Gas, Coals, Stationery, &c. L. 5 : 12 : 0, | | | | | |
| | | | | | L. 115 0 3 |
| PHRENOLOGY.—Paid Fittings in Clyde Street Hall, L. 9 : 15 : 4 ; proportion of advertising and printing, L. 6 : 5 : 10 ; Mr COMBE, per agreement, L. 91 : 7 : 4 ; | | | | | |
| Total outlay | | | | | 107 8 6 |
| | | | | | 222 8 9 |
| Surplus on GEOLOGY and CHEMISTRY Classes, . . . | | | | | L. 57 8 3 |
| Donation from Mr COMBE, | | | | | 21 0 0 |
| Total SURPLUS at 22d March 1833, | | | | | L. 78 8 3 |

At the date of the above Report, on 25th March 1833, Mr COMBE's Course was not terminated, but continued till 25th April, in which intermediate period 293 additional visitors were admitted; being in all 1218 visitors and ticket-holders for his class. At the conclusion of his Course, Mr COMBE also delivered three additional morning Lectures on Popular Education, which were well attended, and the proceeds of which were added to the funds of the Association.

It having been originally intended that the subjects to be successively treated of should embrace all the most interesting departments of Natural Science, and it being now deemed expedient that these should be considered in the order in which they would

most advantageously or naturally follow each other, the Directors agreed with Professor DRUMMOND of Belfast, a gentleman highly recommended, to give a course of twenty-five Lectures on Botany during the summer. These Lectures, notwithstanding several obstacles—such as the epidemic which so generally prevailed in May, the usual press of mercantile business during that month, and other causes—were respectably and regularly attended; 191 Tickets having been sold at 7s. 6d. each, and 162 Visitors admitted at 6d.,—the proceeds amounting in all to £75, 4s., as appears from the detailed Abstract of Receipt and Expenditure appended to the Third printed Report.

Following out their plan, and considering it prudent, in the mean time, not to repeat any Course of Lectures during two successive seasons, the Directors next arranged for the Courses of Lectures delivered during winter 1833-4, viz. on Natural Philosophy, by GEORGE LEES, A. M., of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy—on Astronomy, by the Rev. THOMAS GRAY of Kirkcaldy—and on Physiology and Zoology, by Mr W. A. F. BROWNE, Surgeon, Stirling. The prices of the Tickets to each of these Courses were as follows:—Natural Philosophy, if taken alone (30 Lectures), 10s. 6d.; Astronomy alone (20 Lectures), 9s.; Physiology and Zoology alone (25 Lectures), 7s. 6d.; Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, if taken together, 14s.; Natural Philosophy and Physiology, together, 13s. 6d.; Astronomy and Physiology, together, 12s.; Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Physiology, together, L. 1.—Visitors were admitted upon paying 6d. at the door for each Lecture on Natural Philosophy and Physiology, and 1s. for each on Astronomy.

These Lectures were commenced in the Waterloo Rooms in the first week of November; but preliminary to these courses, Mr COMBE, at the solicitation of the Directors, repeated his Three Lectures on Popular Education; and, from the great satisfaction which they gave to the highly respectable and numerous audiences who attended, the Directors further ventured to request that they might be published, for the benefit of all who take an interest in so important a subject. This request has now been also very kindly

complied with by Mr COMBE ; and it is not doubted that the enlightened and practical views advanced in these Lectures will speedily operate in effecting an important improvement in our public and private seminaries of Education.

A Second General Meeting of the Subscribers was held on the 16th of January, when the Fourth Report of the Directors was read, and afterwards printed and widely circulated,—of which the following is an extract.

“ In the three Reports which have been published by the Directors, the highly interesting nature and general utility of the study of Natural Science to the young and old of both sexes were briefly explained, and have since been so clearly demonstrated by the lecturers as to render it unnecessary to recur to the subject at present. It is sufficient to remark, that, in general, the expositions of the various sciences allotted to the lecturers have afforded much gratification to the hearers. To many, the instruction thus imparted has been already of incalculable benefit in their professions, and other concerns of life; while it has, at the same time, opened up to them delightful and practical views of the human constitution—and external objects—of the relation in which these stand to each other—and of the wisdom, goodness, and other attributes of the great Author of all,—which, it is probable, they would never otherwise have obtained. It is true that it is impossible to acquire from lectures, either within or out of the University, an intimate knowledge of the details of science, but still much benefit is to be derived from attendance on lectures; and it is hoped that the instruction provided by this Association has been such as to substitute clear and precise conceptions of subjects of great importance, for the obscure and confused notions which previously existed. To those who may wish to advance still farther in search of truth, the lectures are calculated to be very useful, by facilitating their subsequent studies, and directing them to those subjects which are most deserving of attention.

“ It is also gratifying to be able to state, that at Glasgow and other places, popular lectures on Natural Science have attracted no less attention. A public meeting was some time ago held at

Exeter for procuring similar instruction, at which extracts from the Reports of this Association were read, and its proceedings otherwise highly commended. In the Autumn of 1833, Dr MURRAY was called to Liverpool to deliver in the Royal Institution of that city, those excellent lectures on Geology which were so favourably received here last winter; and so attractive did the subject immediately prove, that, only a few days after his arrival, he was solicited and engaged to repeat the course, not only in the Mechanics' Institution of Liverpool, but also in that of Manchester. At Glasgow, both last winter and this, popular lectures have been delivered on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, and Phrenology, to crowded audiences;—and Mr BROWNE, our able lecturer on Physiology and Zoology, having complied with an invitation to lecture on Phrenology at Dunfermline, began his course about three weeks ago, and is at present attended by nearly 400 persons of both sexes, and of the most select portion of the community, in point of intelligence, wealth, and general respectability. Other places might likewise be mentioned, but these are sufficient; and it is not doubted that the interest and discussion which have been excited by Mr COMBE's talented lectures on Education, will be influential in speedily bringing about the time when instruction in Natural Science will be everywhere considered an indispensable branch of elementary education. In the mean time, popular lectures will be beneficial in affording to parents and guardians a practical illustration of the highly interesting and useful nature of such studies, and will in some degree supply the want of primary schools for youth in this department of knowledge.

“ The success which has thus attended popular lectures, as well as cheap publications, is important, both as being an unequivocal symptom of the strong desire that prevails for substantial knowledge, and as having fully demonstrated the possibility of supplying information at a trifling expense to individuals, and at the same time sufficiently remunerating the instructors.

“ It only now remains for the Directors to lay before the Association a state of the obligations and income connected with all

these courses of lectures. Detailed states of the receipt and expenditure, up to 3d July last, have already been regularly printed and circulated, and it is presumed to be unnecessary here to recur to them.

“ TOTAL RECEIPTS FOR 1832-3.

| CLASSES. | Tickets sold. | Visitors admitted at 6d. each. | Receipts. |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Phrenology, | 225 | 993 | £115 16 4 |
| Chemistry, | 229 | 387 | 100 7 9 |
| Geology, | 251 | 142 | 73 2 2 |
| Three Lectures on Education, given separately in April 1833, | | 242 at 1s. | 12 2 0 |
| Botany, day class, | 60 | 33 do. | 38 5 0 |
| Botany, evening class, | 192 | 163 | 75 12 0 |
| Three Lectures on Education, given in November 1833 (in addition to the holders of tickets to any of the other classes, who were admitted to the Lec- tures on Education free), . . . | | 340 | 8 10 0 |
| Natural Philosophy, | 239 | 197 | 101 0 3 |
| Astronomy, | 298 | 114 at 1s. | 105 19 6 |
| Physiology, | 294 | 166 | 89 11 6 |
| | 1788 | 2777 | £720 6 6 |
| Paid to Lecturers, and other charges, . . . | | | 609 6 6 |
| Surplus at 16th January 1834,* . . . | | | £111 0 0 |

“ In the summary appended to Mr COMBE’s lectures, the Directors intimated certain regulations which had been under consideration for the future government of the Institution, and which will now be laid before the meeting. With regard to the first of these, namely,—that there shall be twenty-four Directors, one-half of whom shall be annually changed, and an equal number elected by a General Meeting of the members,—it may be simply noticed, that as it was obvious the Directors must neces-

* From the above date to 5th April, 40 additional tickets have been sold, and 367 visitors admitted,—being in all 871 tickets disposed of, and 1184 visitors admitted, during winter 1833-4.

sarily be intrusted with somewhat extensive powers, regarding the selection of subjects for lecture, &c., it was desirable that they should be pretty numerous, and that an efficient management should be secured as much as possible by a regular change of the old and an accession of new and active office-bearers.

“ It was found somewhat difficult to fix on the most desirable qualifications for constituting ordinary members, in order that the conditions might be at once beneficial to them as well as to the Association. The Directors are of course aware, that in other public institutions, the payment of a sum of money, annually or otherwise, is the chief qualification required ; but they also know, that, in many instances, the subscribers derive little or no direct benefit in return ; and the consequence frequently is, that so soon as the public excitement or private zeal which originated, and for a time supported, the Institution has abated, the members have gradually withdrawn, and the scheme has been finally abandoned. In the present instance, therefore, it is recommended that full value in tickets to the lectures shall always be given for the contributions.

“ Lastly, In order to diminish, in future, the great expense attendant upon room-rent, seating, and repeated fittings, which, under the circumstances, has been hitherto necessarily incurred, it has been proposed that measures should be speedily taken by the Association for raising funds, by subscription, to build a proper lecture-room for themselves. This being a matter, however, requiring mature deliberation, the Directors do not deem it necessary to enter into farther detail regarding it at present. It may also here be remarked, that they have not thought it expedient to recommend the purchase of any scientific apparatus, or other materials, conceiving that it will be more advantageous to the Association, and more satisfactory to the respective lecturers, that each should furnish his own instruments, and receive remuneration accordingly. Much trouble and responsibility will be thus also saved to the Directors.”

Upon this Report being read and approved of, the following Regulations were unanimously agreed to.

“ I. The name of the Institution shall be,—THE EDINBURGH ASSOCIATION* FOR PROVIDING INSTRUCTION IN USEFUL AND ENTERTAINING SCIENCES.

“ II. The subjects for Lectures shall be left to the judgment of the Directors for the time being.

“ III. There shall be Twenty-four Directors, one-half of whom shall be annually changed, and an equal number elected by a General Meeting of the Members; and the said Directors shall, from among their own number, choose a President, Treasurer, and Secretary.

“ IV. An annual payment of One Guinea shall entitle the contributor to Free Tickets for all the Lectures, to vote in the election of Directors, and to enjoy all the other privileges of an ordinary member.

“ V. Individuals shall be allowed to purchase tickets for admission to one or more of the Lectures, without becoming regular members.

“ VI. The funds shall be deposited in a respectable bank (at present being so lodged), in the names of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary.

“ VII. After the present season, the Annual Meeting of Members for the election of Office-Bearers, and other general business, shall be held in the month of March.”

Such is a short outline of the present Association. The leading points for observation in regard to it, as was well remarked in the *Scotsman*, are the following:—

1st, It is composed of mercantile men, clerks in counting-houses and offices, manufacturers, with a few members of the legal profession and students; but almost all engaged in active industry of one kind or another. The lectures are delivered at half-past eight in the evening, to suit their convenience. There are among them no influential literary or scientific characters. To use the words of the Lord Chancellor, they have “ taken the business of education, with energy, into their own hands.” They choose their own directors, of whom twelve go out of office every

year, and the Directors fix on the subjects to be brought forward, engage the lecturers, adjust their remuneration, sell the tickets, and disburse all charges.

2dly, No stated lecturers are appointed, nor is a fixed routine of instruction laid down. The Directors inquire what subjects will prove most interesting, select these, and then look around them for the most able lecturers, to teach them, and stipulate with each his remuneration. If any lecturer fails to interest and instruct his audience, he will have small chance of being selected in a succeeding year. The tendency of this principle is to encourage the appearance of able lecturers, and to render it a matter of necessity for those who have not talent for the vocation to withdraw. We recommend to the Directors to be decided and uncompromising in rejecting every lecturer who has not given ample satisfaction to his audience. They ought to allow no feelings of private friendship or supposed delicacy to individuals to induce them to tolerate feebleness, ignorance, or want of talent for instructing.

3dly, At these lectures, Females have an opportunity of receiving instruction, which is denied them in nearly every other institution for education. They have largely availed themselves of the advantages presented to them. Indeed, the Ladies of Edinburgh have earned a title to the highest estimation of the community, by the spirit with which they have entered into the study of useful knowledge. We could point out more than one mother in the higher ranks, who, after having received a fashionable education, the defects of which she felt in proportion as she became anxious to discharge her maternal duties, has repaired to these lectures, and gratefully acknowledged the benefits derived from them. And the same spirit has animated the ladies of the middle rank, who compose the majority of the female part of the audiences.

4thly, These lectures, it has been seen, are remarkably cheap. The lectures on Natural Philosophy, thirty in number, cost 10s. 6d. ; on Astronomy, twenty in number, 9s. ; on Physiology and Zoology, twenty-five in number, 7s. 6d. ; or tickets for the

whole three L. 1. Visitors are likewise admitted, upon paying 1s. at the door, to the Astronomical Course, and 6d. to the other lectures.

5thly, The Directors have fearlessly and successively introduced subjects which persons of literary and philosophical habits would probably have considered not adapted for the education of a popular audience of both sexes;—we allude to Phrenology, Physiology, and Geology, particularly the first and second. The number of tickets sold and visitors admitted to each of these, affords the best evidence of the sagacity with which the Directors judged of the public taste, when they selected these studies.

6thly, The last feature to be noticed, is the entire absence of eleemosynary assistance, and the success of the Directors in raising funds, adequate not only to remunerate the lecturers, but to meet the heavy charges of large lecture-rooms in a fashionable Tavern (Waterloo), advertising, printing upwards of 7000 copies of Reports and comprehensive Syllabuses, and other incidents, The Fourth Report shews, that, in the short period of fifteen months, they had drawn L. 720, and had in hand a balance of L. 111, after discharging all claims against them.

This Association has received too little notice from the press, which may be attributed to the circumstance of no literary men being connected with it. Yet this is the very circumstance which gives it increased importance. It affords a gratifying example of what the middle class of society can do for itself; and, perhaps, no circumstance promises so favourable for the future glory and prosperity of Britain as this display, by the industrious part of the population, not only of the will but of the power of educating themselves.

No. VII.

EXTRACT FROM THE FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS appointed by the LORD LIEUTENANT to administer the FUNDS granted by Parliament for the EDUCATION of the POOR of IRELAND. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 3d March 1834.

To his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland.

WE, the undersigned Commissioners appointed to administer the Funds granted by Parliament for the Education of the Poor of Ireland, beg leave to report to Your Excellency as follows :

We commenced receiving applications for aid towards Schools in January 1832, and the total number made to us to the present time amounts to 1548.

We have granted assistance to 789 Schools which are now in full operation. We made grants to 52 other Schools, which have since ceased to be in connection with us ; in general, we deemed it right to discontinue aid to them in consequence of the reports of our inspectors. We have promised aid towards the building of 199 Schools, which have not as yet been completed.

We have rejected 216 applications, and have 292 now before us for consideration.

The Schools which we already have in operation are attended by 107,042 children ; and according to the estimates transmitted to us, those which are to be opened in the houses not yet finished will be attended by a farther number of 36,804 ; so that the whole of the Schools existing and in preparation will afford the benefits of education to 143,846.

We have the satisfaction to state, that throughout our correspondence with the patrons of schools, we have found them disposed to act with perfect integrity and candour: some instances of deviation from our rules have been reported to us, but on inquiry into the circumstances, we have in general received such explanations as have been satisfactory to us.

An important part of the duty entrusted to us is the preparation of books for the use of the Schools and School Libraries. We have hitherto directed our attention chiefly to the compilation of books for schools only; we have prepared and published four numbers of a series of reading books, to which we propose to add a fifth; the lessons of which these books consist have been so written or selected as that, while they are used in reading exercises, they convey elements of knowledge to the children in regular order. We have also published treatises on arithmetic and book-keeping, and a translation of Clairaut's Geometry. Some books having been hastily prepared to meet the urgent necessities of the schools, will require a farther revision, but we are enabled to add, that the whole have already met with very general approbation, and we propose so to arrange the prices and mode of sale as to bring them as much as possible into general use.

Besides these works on the ordinary subjects of education, we have compiled and printed two numbers of a series of lessons from the Holy Scriptures, one from the Old, and the other from the New Testament, and we propose to go on adding to them until we complete a copious abstract of the narrative parts of the Sacred Volume, interspersed with suitable passages from the poetical and didactic parts of it. We proceed on the undertaking with perfect unanimity, and anticipate, from the general circulation of the work, the best results.

It having been imputed to us that we intended to substitute these extracts from the Scriptures for the Sacred Volume itself, we deemed it necessary to guard against such misrepresentations, by annexing to the first number of them the following preface:

“ These selections are offered, not as a substitute for the Sacred

Volume itself, but as an introduction to it, in the hope of their leading to a more general and more profitable perusal of the Word of God. The passages introduced have been chosen, not as being of more importance than the rest of Scripture, but merely as appearing to be most level to the understandings of children and youth at school, and also best fitted to be read under the directions of teachers not necessarily qualified, and certainly not recognised, as teachers of religion ; no passage has either been introduced or omitted under the influence of any particular view of Christianity, doctrinal or practical."

It has been farther imputed to us, that we denied to children the benefit of religious instruction, and kept the Word of God from them ; to guard also against this extraordinary misrepresentation, we have introduced the following notes into our regulations:

No. 1. " The ordinary school business, during which all the children, of whatever denomination they be, are required to attend, and which is expected to embrace a competent number of hours in each day, is to consist exclusively of instruction in those branches of knowledge which belong to literary and moral education. Such extracts from the Scriptures as are prepared under the sanction of the Board may be used, and are earnestly recommended by the Board to be used, during those hours allotted to this ordinary school business.

No. 2. " One day in each week (independently of Sunday) is to be set apart for religious instruction of the children, on which day such pastors or other persons as are approved of by the parents or guardians of the children, shall have access to them for that purpose, whether those pastors have signed the original application or not.

No. 3. " The managers of schools are also expected, should the parents of any of the children desire it, to afford convenient opportunity and facility for the same purpose, either before or after the ordinary school business (as the managers may determine) on the other days of the week.

No. 4. " Any arrangement of this description that may be made, is to be publicly notified in the schools, in order that those children, and those only, may be present at the religious instruction, whose parents and guardians approve of their being so.

No. 5. " The reading of the Scriptures, either in the authorised or Douay version, is regarded as a religious exercise, and as such, to be confined to those hours which are set apart for religious instruction. The same regulation is also to be observed respecting prayer.

No. 6. " A register is to be kept in each school, recording the daily attendance of the children, and the average attendance in each week and each quarter, according to a form to be furnished by the Board."

We have thus shown to all who choose to read our rules, with the view of understanding, not perverting them, that, while we desire to bring Christian children of all denominations together, so that they may receive instruction in common in those points of education which do not clash with any particular religious opinions, we take care that sufficient time be set apart for separate religious instruction, and that the ministers of God's Word, of all Christian creeds, and those approved of by them, shall have the fullest opportunity of reading and expounding it, and of seeing that the children of their respective denominations do read and understand it, not only weekly, but daily, if they think proper.

The success which has attended our labours, as appears by the progress we have made, abundantly proves that the system of education committed to our charge has been gratefully received and approved by the public in general; we trust it will continue to spread and prosper.

It shall be, as it ever has been, our constant object so to administer it as to make it acceptable and beneficial to the whole of His Majesty's subjects; to train up and unite through it the youth of the country together, whatever their religious differences may be, in feelings and habits of attachment and friendship

towards each other, and thus to render it the means of promoting charity and good will amongst all classes of the people.

We annex a statement of our receipts and expenditure to the 31st December 1833, and of our present liabilities, to which we beg to refer.

(Signed) LEINSTER.
R^d. DUBLIN.
D. MURRAY.
FRANC SADLEIR.
JAMES CARLISLE.
A. R. BLAKE.
ROBERT HOLMES.

THE END.

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